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LETTER

TO

EDMUND BURKE, Esq.

OF THE

SELECT COMMITTEE

OF THE

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LETTER

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ON THE

LATTER PART OF THE REPORT

OF THE

SELECT COMMITTEE

OF THE

HOUSE OF COMMONS



STATE OF JUSTICE IN BENGAL.

EDMUND BURKE, Esq.
Some curious Particulars, and original Anecdotes, con-
cerning the Forgery committed by MAHA
RAJAH NUNDCOMAR BAHADAR,
on the Proof of which he lost his Life.

“Who steals my gold, steals trash; tis something, nothing; ’twas
“mine, tis his, and has been thine to thousands; but he who
“steals from me my good name, robs me of that which not
“enriches him, and makes me poor indeed.”
Shakspere’s Othello.

L O N D O N

PRINTED IN THE YEAR M,DCC,LXXXII.
REPRINTED M,DCC,LXXXIII.

182c

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18

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RAJAH NUNGOOMAHADAR,
and the Proof of which is his Lord's Com-

mission, and other accounts in the works of
the late Lord of the Treasury, Mr. Pitt, and
other public writers: his Lordship's report, 1782.
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L E T T E R

EDMUND BURKE, Esq.

S I R,

EVERY body gives you the credit of having drawn up the report from the Select Committee; and there are some strokes in it, which mark the hand too plainly for it to have been mistaken, without the necessity of your friends giving themselves the trouble they have done, to let us know who was the author. Modern patriots have their marks, as well as the antient ones. Johnny Wilkes will live and die Johnny Wilkes: And whilst Mr. Burke can speak or write, it will be in tropes and figures, which make no more impression on

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the mind, than water colours do on the canvass; a little attention to truth does away the first, as effectually as a little pure water obliterates the last.

Your particular dislike to the Governor General of Bengal, is supposed to have taken its rise in your correspondence with the King of Tanjore.

Your extensive reading furnished you with instances in abundance, of tributary kings keeping in their pay, the pedagogues of Greece and Italy; and you could devise no reason why the patriots of Britain, should not benefit by a profession, made famous from its having been adopted by the orators of Athens and of Rome; so extended your patronage from New York in the west, to the plains of Hindoostan in the east.

Your Chairman, warmed by the high military fame he acquired during his command abroad, seems determined to save the East India Company, by communicating to them the knowledge and experience he accumulated whilst in their service in India; where having learnt from his own practice, that claiming an exclusive right to trade in salt, a necessary of life, tea and china, mere luxurious commodities, and cotton, a raw material, without which the manufacturers of Bengal cannot go on, has a pernicious tendency on the morals of the younger servants, he seems desirous to atone for
his

his sins, by preventing any future servants of the Company, whether military or civil, raising themselves to opulence and grandeur, by the same means which he himself has made use of.

YOUR friend, Mr. C. W. Boughton Rouse, feels it necessary to correct and amend the course of Justice in Bengal—well knowing that a certain President of one of the Courts of Adawlet, was brought before the Supreme Court of Judicature, soon after its first erection, and obliged to refund three eighths of a thousand pounds, which the moderate magistrate had taken for his share from a complainant, in whose favour he had decreed a cause for 8000 rupees.

If you want the above fact authenticated, ask a man close to your nose, who, in October 1774, was leading hounds in couples about the town of Calcutta, but since passed through the law as the first qualification, and then, through a corrupt borough, into the senate house, and now sits employed with the above worthies, to attack the virtues of a man, of whom, in their former lucrative occupations, they stood in the utmost awe.

To give to committees that degree of credit, which their delegated power from Parliament seems to entitle them, all they say, and all they do, in their detached capacity, should be so cool, so

temperate, so impartial, and so free from every idea of personal enmity or party spleen, to the persons whose conduct they are about to enquire into, as not to leave a doubt on the mind of their readers, that their passions were in the least biassed in favour, or disfavour, of the parties concerned. Without such conviction on the minds of the people, inflammatory declarations, entitled reports from committees, will but recall to their remembrance, those diabolical instruments of tyranny, invented by the Tudors, and practised by the Stuarts, the High Commission Court and Star Chamber, or that yet more infernal bar to the peace and happiness of mankind, the Spanish Inquisition.

I CONCEIVE that all reports are first printed, and suffered, for some considerable time, to spread abroad and circulate amongst not only the Members of the House, but the people at large, to give to the persons interested, or to their friends, should they be absent, time to offer such reasoning and argument in their favour and defence, as the nature and circumstances of the case will admit.

I CONCEIVE that a Committee of the House of Commons, or any other body of men, having in charge to investigate a matter of fact, are bound as much by their honour, as a jurymen is by his oath, to return a verdict according to their conscience, and so help them God. It is true the report

report of the former, is mere matter of report, founded on parole evidence, and no further binding, than as the House shall find it clear in its evidence, and impartial in the conclusions which have been drawn from that evidence; but a jury, influenced by passion, or swayed by prejudice, and persisting in their verdict, may, whilst the judge nods on the bench, hurry a fellow creature to his last account, without a single imperfection on his head. The Committee are formed of men of honour, taken from a body, once thought by all Europe, to be the most august assemblage of select spirits, representing as noble and as free a nation of people, as ever appeared on the stage of the world. I hope they are about to recover that character; to obtain which, their predecessors fought to their knees in blood.

We have been told that the law of Parliament, is above all the laws of the land; and there have been instances of their power, which, in their consequences, have made us feel that it is so; and I may be told, that notwithstanding the clear and explicit title page of your report, which seems, to a common understanding, to confine the Committee to an enquiry into the state of the administration of justice, in the provinces of Bengal, Bahar, and Orissa, that, in fact, that is not the case, but that their powers of investigation, extends to all sorts of concerns of the East India Company, even
down

down to the peevish complainings of one of their servants, for neglect or inattention in the Court of Directors towards him.

If that is really the case, and that it is not beneath the dignity of the Committee, to condescend to enter on the face of a report, said to contain matters purely judicial, or to exhibit in the appendix of such report, certain papers, containing the mere political opinions of Mr. Philip Francis, it will not, I hope, be thought indecent in me, to contrast some other of that gentleman's political opinions with them, and thereby shew how necessary it may be for the legislative body of this country, to know the true character of such a man, and the colour of his evidence, before they come to any final conclusion on the subject matter of the report,

There are parts of the report, which are so compounded of judicial and political matter, that it will not be easy to separate them; and there are also ideas conveyed by implication, which merit observation, only because they are to be found in a report sent into the world by so honourable a Committee. Whilst such insinuations and inuendos, were to be found only in anonymous pamphlets and daily papers, they were suffered to die away with other trash from the same quarter; but finding that many of them had been transplanted into a work, composed by so eminent a penman, and

and bearing the sanction of a Committee of the House of Commons, I will examine them with candour and with truth; and leave others to determine on what principle, and from what motives, they have been introduced into the report of a Committee, whose sole declared purpose was an investigation into judicial affairs.

The following extracts have been faithfully copied from part of the 22d, and from part of the 23d, pages of the report; and I have subjoined immediately to them, document No. 8, from the appendix of the same report. These quotations are of a nature purely political; nor was it possible for the Committee to have understood them, or to make their readers understand them, without a complete reference to the East India Company's Bengal records, as far back as the 19th day of October 1774. Such omission has a tendency to mislead the opinion of persons, whose determination may be prejudicial to the honour of a gentleman, not *now* in a situation to defend himself. No. 8 contains assertions yet to be proved, and is the production of a man, long used to the habit of making bold assertions, and then leaving them, like Bickerstaff's prophecies, to shift for themselves. If, Sir, I do not prove this in several instances, before I close this address, I will be content to be held in a degree of as much contempt, for *leaving making*, as Mr. Francis now is, and will remain, in spite of all your efforts to save him.

“ AND

" AND Mr. Francis being afterwards further ex-
 " amined, said, That he landed at Dover the 10th
 " of October last. And being asked, How soon
 " he saw the Chairman of the East India Company
 " after his arrival in London, he said, That on
 " Saturday the 20th of October, he gave notice to
 " the Court of Directors of his arrival: he went
 " to Mr. Sullivan's (the Chairman) house the same
 " day; and on the Monday, he went to the Depu-
 " ty Chairman; but he saw neither of them, Hear-
 " ing nothing from the India House, or any person
 " belonging to it, except that the Secretary ac-
 " knowledged the receipt of his letter, he went
 " again to the Chairman's house on the 12th of
 " November, and left a message for him in wri-
 " ting, requesting to see him; in consequence of
 " which, he was so polite as to come to his house
 " the next morning. After that he wrote to him, and
 " upon his laying his letter before the Court of Di-
 " rectors, he was informed by the Secretary, that
 " the Directors had requested the Chairman and
 " Deputy Chairman, to receive from him any in-
 " formation he might have to offer on the state of
 " the Company's affairs: (Vide Appendix, No. 6.)
 " Accordingly he went to the East India House by
 " appointment, on the 19th of November, and
 " delivered those gentlemen a paper of the heads
 " of that information which he meant to give them,
 " and gave them explanations as he went on. And
 " the witness begged to be permitted to lay a copy
 " of

"of that letter before the Committee, (vide Ap-
 "pendix, No. 7.) And being asked, what enquiry
 "was made of him by the Court of Directors, con-
 "cerning the state of the controversy between the
 "Governor General and Council, and the Su-
 "preme Court of Judicature, when he left Bengal,
 "he said, He had never been introduced to the
 "Court of Directors, nor called upon in any shape
 "by them. When he saw the Chairman and De-
 "puty, they asked him no questions whatever upon
 "this subject, nor, as well as he can recollect,
 "upon any other. That the Chairman and De-
 "puty Chairman, assigned no reasons why no
 "questions were asked of him upon this, or upon
 "any other subject; nor can he conceive what
 "their reason could be, unless they were apprehen-
 "sive his answers might bring forward information,
 "which they did not wish to see brought forward;
 "and the witness added, But this is mere conje-
 "cture. And being further asked, Whether a
 "letter which appeared in the public news-papers,
 "dated Calcutta, 12th of October, 1780, signed
 "Philip Francis, (vide Appendix, No. 8.) is a
 "just copy of any letter written by him to the Court
 "of Directors, he said, It is his letter. And it
 "being stated to the witness, That as he had stated
 "in his letter to the Court of Directors, that they
 "had suffered the Company's fundamental prin-
 "ciples of policy to be overset, their instructions
 "and orders, in various instances, to be disobeyed
 "with

"with impunity; that they had condemned the
 "Governor-General, and another Member of the
 "Council, in the strongest terms; and charging
 "also the Directors with various other neglects of
 "duty, violations of promise, and other matter of
 "a criminal and serious nature; he was asked,
 "Whether he knew or believed, that the Court of
 "Directors ever received that letter; he said, The
 "Chairman told him they had. That the Chair-
 "man did not call upon him to support those
 "charges by evidence, or to disclaim them as
 "groundless, and injurious to the honour of the
 "Court of Directors; but he, the witness, told
 "him, he was ready and able to make them good.
 "That the Chairman mentioned the letter to him,
 "as the true and only cause that he was not received
 "by the Court of Directors, with those public
 "marks of civility and approbation, to which he
 "was otherwise entitled. That he did not tell him
 "any enquiry would be instituted into the subject
 "matter of that letter, but rather intimated to
 "him, that the Court of Directors had no inten-
 "tion to take any notice of it whatever. That he
 "adheres to the sense and terms of that letter in
 "every particular, and believes he can establish the
 "truth of his assertions by sufficient evidence.
 "That the orders of the Company were not sup-
 "ported and enforced by the Court of Directors,
 "whilst he was in Bengal. That he thinks the
 "Acts of Parliament, relative to the regulation of
 "the

“the East India Company in general, are not
 “strictly regarded. And being asked, What he
 “held to be the principal cause of it, he said, Men
 “who have violated orders, and who, as he thinks,
 “have disregarded Acts of Parliament, have been
 “censured, but not punished, and instead of being
 “removed from their stations, have been continued
 “in them by new appointments. That the conver-
 “sation wherein the Chairman intimated to him,
 “that the Court of Directors did not intend to take
 “any notice of his letter of the 12th of October,
 “1780, passed at his house on the 13th of Novem-
 “ber last.”

A P P E N D I X, No. 8.

*Copy of a Letter sent over some Time ago by Mr.
 Francis, late one of the Council of Bengal,
 and a Passenger in the last arrived Ships.*

To the Court of Directors.

Calcutta, December 12, 1780:

“GENTLEMEN,

“THE accounts you will receive of a duel be-
 “tween Mr. Hastings and me, I presume
 “will attract some degree of your attention. It
 “concerns my honour and reputation, that the
 “transaction

" transaction should be accurately stated to you in
 " the first instance, and through you to the Com-
 " pany. It also concerns the Company's interest,
 " that the cause of this event, with all the public
 " acts or declarations of the Members of this
 " Council, immediately or remotely connected
 " with it, should appear fully before you. The
 " only fair and impartial method of bringing them
 " forward, is by laying before you, as I now do,
 " authentic extracts of such our proceedings, as
 " have a relation to them, without narrative or
 " comment.

" The papers I send you inclosed, are not only
 " necessary to possess you of the nature and occasion
 " of the personal difference between Mr. Hastings
 " and me, but will give you such a view of the
 " state of the Company's affairs in this part of In-
 " dia, and of the measures which have produced it,
 " as I trust will make a deep impression on your
 " minds.

" We are now endeavouring to tread back the
 " fatal steps which have been taken in the last three
 " years by this government, and by the Presidency
 " of Bombay; but I would not undertake to an-
 " swer for the success of our present endeavours,
 " because a right system may be attempted too late,
 " or the means taken in pursuit of it, may not be
 " the wisest that might be chosen. In our circum-

"stances, it is very difficult to say what plan is
 "likely to succeed, or what plan is free from ob-
 "jection. I shall contribute my advice and assist-
 "ance, as long as I continue in the Council; but
 "I will not embarrass the execution of measures,
 "which may prevail against my opinion, by a use-
 "less, perhaps a dangerous, opposition to it. My
 "efforts to prevent the distress which has fallen
 "upon your affairs, were exerted, without remis-
 "sion, during a long period, in which they might
 "have been of essential service to you, if they had
 "either been regarded here, or supported from
 "home. You suffered the Company's fundamental
 "principles of policy to be overset, your instruc-
 "tions to the Governor General and Council, to
 "be violated, and your own specific orders, in va-
 "rious instances, to be disobeyed with impunity.
 "You have heaped condemnation, from year to
 "year, on the Governor General, and another
 "Member of your Council, in the strongest terms
 "that ever were applied to men, possessing so high
 "a trust and station, and not instantly divested of
 "both. You have also been pleased to favour the
 "late Sir John Clavering, Colonel Monson, Mr.
 "Wheler, and me, with repeated assurances of
 "your approbation of our principles and conduct,
 "and with repeated promises of support. You have
 "given us reason to expect definitive orders and
 "regulations on many important subjects, which
 "have never been sent, particularly in an instance
 "of

“ of the first magnitude and importance, in which
 “ you have declared to us, “ That the measures
 “ which it might be necessary for you to take in
 “ consequence thereof, in order to retrieve the ho-
 “ nour of the Company, and to prevent the like
 “ abuse from being practised in future, should
 “ have your earliest and most serious considera-
 “ tion.”

“ At the end of six years, since the institution
 “ of the present government, the concluding state
 “ of facts is, that the men whose conduct you have
 “ so condemned, have never received any serious
 “ proof of your displeasure ; but on the contrary,
 “ have been continued in trust and station, by a
 “ new appointment ; and the principles and mea-
 “ sures which you have constantly reprobated,
 “ have been suffered to prevail and operate, from
 “ year to year, to their present conclusion, in the
 “ face of your own orders and instructions, against
 “ the most strenuous opposition in the Council ;
 “ and notwithstanding the strongest remonstrances,
 “ both public and private, accompanied with the
 “ clearest explanations of the real state of affairs
 “ here, which have been sent home by every means
 “ in my power, since my arrival in the country.
 “ Look back to the situation of your affairs, as
 “ long as Sir John Clavering’s efforts and mine,
 “ had weight enough to preserve the peace of India,
 “ to which, in the first article of our instructions,
 “ you

"you ordered us to fix our attention, and com-
 "pare it with that to which an opposite policy, per-
 "mitted, if not encouraged, by yourselves, has
 "reduced them. Every step that led from one to
 "the other, was regularly marked to you as it
 "was taken. Every event that has happened was
 "foretold. I will not now predict to you what is
 "likely to be the condition of all the Company's
 "possessions in India; at the time when you will
 "receive this letter, you will have facts enough
 "before you to judge for yourselves.

"THE struggle to which I have dedicated my
 "labours so long without effect, and in which I
 "have sacrificed my repose, and the peace of my
 "mind, to no purpose, is now at an end. In the
 "course of three months, I mean to quit Bengal,
 "and return to England, where it is possible my
 "presence may be of some use to the Company,
 "though it is of none here.

"I have the honour to be,

"Gentlemen,

"Your most obedient humble Servant,

"(Signed) P. FRANCIS."

"THOUGH it would be loss of time, merely to in-
 "form you, Sir, who this Mr. Philip Francis is,
 "others may not be so well read in Asiatic politics,
 "therefore

therefore I think that a simple and concise recapitulation of certain facts, will be necessary to an explanation of the curious assertions in the above letter, which you have honoured with a place in the report.

In that year of grand experiments 1774, when the evil genius of Great Britain, rode triumphant over the national councils, and spread a spirit of discontent and disunion, in all the provinces of the empire, oriental and occidental, from the rising of the sun even to the going down of the same, the legislature thought proper to divest that great body of merchants, the East India Company, of the right of appointing their own immediate and principal servants, for the government of their affairs in the provinces of Bengal, Bahar, and Orissa. General John Clavering, Colonel George Monson, and Mr. Philip Francis, a clerk from the war-office, were singled out by Ministry, and appointed with Messrs. Hastings and Barwell, to form a Council General, with a controuling power over all the other Presidencies in India. They were to hold their appointments, and succeed in turn to the government, independent of the Company, for the space of five years.

This extraordinary interposition of the legislative power, did not pass without some struggles made by the Company, to maintain their natural
and

and just rights to the nomination of their own responsible servants; but the same power that created the Majority, found means to export them; and it was curious enough to observe three men, who, contrary to the interest, and to the inclination of many thousand people, were forced upon them to manage several millions of their property, steal out of the kingdom like felons or transports. The western world had been gorged with the filthy offal of a luxurious nation; Ministry wanted an addition of patronage to still the clamour of greedy sycophants, and it was sought for in the East. One ship conveyed the majority of the civil and military government, whose power, in those departments, was bounded only by their will and pleasure. Another ship, pressed down to the water's edge, with the weight of the judges, the charter of justice, legions of lawyers, and miriads of law-books, departed at the same instant. Two such cargoes, so pregnant with mischief, never before left the kingdom; and but for the virtues, moderation, and temper of one great man, Governor General Hastings, it might now have been said of the eastern section of the globe, as it is of the western, Britain once held powerful provinces in those distant regions. But that grand left wing of this once mighty, but, I fear, now falling empire, remains, and may remain, if the wisdom of the present generation will but think and judge for themselves, and not suffer the partial reports of

a few interested individuals to mislead their understanding.

AFTER a passage of not quite six months, those banes to the future prosperity of the provinces, and to the peace and good government of the inhabitants of Bengal, landed at Calcutta, on the 19th day of October, 1774. At the very first meeting of the General Council to do business, the fifth day after their arrival, a rigid, intemperate, and inveterate opposition took place; not only to the motions of the Governor General, for the purpose of carrying on the current business, but also the most severe scrutiny was made, as well as a retrospective view taken, into the measures of the late administration. Measures which had, in part, been recommended by the Court of Directors, and the whole of which had been referred to them, for their approbation or disapproval, and with which the Majority had nothing to do, having no responsibility for their consequences. But their intention to drive the Governor General out of the chair, was rancorously pursued, if not openly avowed. I shall, for the present, pass by my proofs of the above assertion, in order to come directly to the true cause of Mr. Francis's writing the above Letter, so honourably made a number in the appendix to the report of the Committee.

THE

THE Majority having determined to use every means in their power to remove Mr. Hastings from the government, innumerable were the charges of crimes of all denominations, which they collected against him, and sent home to the Ministry, and to the Company, in every ship that was dispatched, from their first arrival in October, 1774, to the sailing of the Anson in April, 1775, the last ship of that season from Bengal; or, as Mr. Francis more quaintly expresses it, "by every mode of conveyance."

SUCH an accumulation of heavy charges, collected together in so short a time, against the Governor General, by men of such established characters as General Clavering and Colonel Monson, alarmed every body at home; and no arts were neglected to scatter and impress them on the minds of the people throughout the nation.

THE breach of treaty with the Princes of Hindoostan, by which the national honour was sullied; the involving the country in a bloody, expensive, and endless war; the employing the Company's army to extirpate, root out, and annihilate whole nations of people; the having, in the course of thirty months, accumulated half a million of money, by every mode of oppression and peculation, for his own private use and emolument; the prodigious waste of the Company's treasures, to gra-

tify the avarice of his friends and dependents, with innumerable other charges amassed together, in whole volumes, in order to crush the Governor General, by the weight of their accusations; not one of which has been proved to this hour, or ever was intended to be proved, as I shall make appear in the course of this Letter.

It was soon seen in Europe, that the new and old members in the administration of the government of Bengal, would never draw together, and consequently, parties were formed in support of both divisions. The Ministry, who had created the Majority, were bound to the friends of General Clavering and Colonel Monson, to support them in their power, (for Mr. Francis, let him say what he will, was too insignificant to be known or to be remembered in Europe; his importance grew out of his having a vote in the Council at Bengal, which turned the scale there) and the whole weight of ministerial influence was thrown into the balance in Leadenhall-street, and a majority of the Directors wrought upon, to move the Proprietors at a General Court, to address the King to remove Mr. Hastings from the government of Bengal; but the independent Proprietors, to their everlasting honour, at two general meetings, called expressly for the purpose, refused to condemn a man unheard, who had served them for twenty-four years, with-

out

out one single criminal act having been until that time brought against him.

THE friends of the Majority having failed in that mode of attack, and the influence of the General's and Colonel's interest continuing to operate, the majority of the Court of Directors had in charge to use the powers of their executive authority, to endeavour to drive Mr. Hastings out of the chair, by the mere dint of their severity, of observation and condemnation of measures, long since passed, and most, if not all of them, examined and approved by themselves, or their immediate predecessors; but this was before they had come to a knowledge, that the support of a particular party of men in their foreign service, was necessary to the preservation of, and continuance in their own seats, at home. Bitter, cruel, unjust, and pointedly severe, was every one of their Letters to Bengal, against the Governor's formerly approved conduct, during the years 1775 and 1776; and nothing but a consciousness of innocence, an integrity of soul, and a resolution not be paralleled, could have supported him against the pitiless pelting of such merciless masters.

In September, 1776, Colonel Monson died, and gave some time to the Governor General to amend and correct the Company's deranged affairs, which had, from October 1774, been suffered to run into

into great disorder, whilst the two leading men in the majority of government, had nothing in their minds, in their heads, or at their hearts, but the driving Mr. Hastings out of their way. Mr. Francis, indeed, made better use of his time, and his temporary importance, to serve himself and friends, as I may take occasion to mention. At home, a fixed determination had taken place, that General Clavering should have the government as soon as possible, and a gentleman was fixed on to fill the vacancy caused by the death of Colonel Monson, who had been Chairman of the Court of Directors, and taken an active part against Mr. Hastings. However, he did not arrive at Bengal, until after the death of General Clavering, who had, in August, 1777, fallen a sacrifice to disorders, brought on by an intense application to an object which had kept his mind constantly disturbed, and his blood, in a degree of fermentation, inevitably destructive to a man at General Clavering's advanced period of life, in so inclement a climate.

CHRISTIAN charity compels me to hope, that General Clavering and Mr. Monson firmly believed all the idle stories, that they heard of the conduct of Mr. Hastings from interested men; otherwise, how are we to account for their having adopted them for their own, by entering of them upon the face of the Company's records, writing accounts of them to the Ministry and their other friends

friends in Europe, and aiding, abetting, and promoting the circulation of them amongst all orders of men, throughout, not only this nation, and the continent of Europe, but into the cabinets of all the Asiatic Princes, on the peninsula of Hindoostan? That they did so, is certain; that the injury done thereby to the interest of this nation in Asia, is notorious; and that the effects of their assertions, continue to operate on the minds of some men in this country, are seen by many expressions in the report of the Committee, where Mr. Francis constantly attends, and with his usual audacity, continues to assert, what he neither has, or can prove.

SHALL I then, who feel for the mangled honour of an absent man, be afraid to come forward in support of his innocence, because the dead wanted charity, and the living are driven on by principles which they dare not avouch, to destroy his character in the opinion of his Sovereign and fellow subjects? Never. Let party rage and malevolence split their venom, covered as I am in a coat of mail, formed of truth, I stand invulnerable to all their poisoned shafts; whilst I go on to bare to the bone, the motives of the dead, and of the living, which induced, and continue to induce, the former, and the present two or three, who have linked together in the spirit of party, to blacken the unspotted character of one of the greatest subjects the King hath to boast of.

THE

THE opposition to every plan of Mr. Hastings went on at Bengal, headed by Mr. Francis, and supported by Mr. Wheeler, and was continued to be countenanced by the managers from home, until the news arrived of the demise of General Clavering : then, and not till then, the spirit of opposition was discontinued in Leadenhall street, by orders from the west end of the town. His competitor for the government having ceased to exist, the abilities and the integrity of Mr. Hastings, were allowed to have their due weight ; for the time approaching, when the temporary act which appointed him Governor General for the affairs of the Company at Bengal, for five years, was about to expire, another act to continue him in the chair for the year eighty, passed into a law, with the consent of all parties.

AT Bengal the ball was kept up ; the constant abuse which had been heaped on Mr. Hastings, in all the correspondence from home, from the end of 1775 to the middle of 1777, was not observed to have entirely subsided in Europe, as soon as it was known there that General Clavering was dead.

GENERAL Sir Eyre Coote had been appointed to supply the place of General Clavering ; and Messrs. Francis and Wheeler buoyed up their party with the most solemn assurances, that no sooner

sooner should the new General arrive, but he would join the opposition, and that on the expiration of the regulating act in 1779, another would take place, fixing Mr. Francis in the government, from which moment the loaves and the fishes would be all their own.

THERE were several causes that concurred to induce Mr. Francis to believe what he said; first, his being one of the Majority which had, for so long a time, laboured the removal of the Governor General; every sentence in the Letters from Europe, condemning the conduct of that Gentleman, implied commendation of his own: secondly, the death of Colonel Monson had brought him still nearer to General Clavering, and it had grown into a custom, both at home and abroad, to link their names together, as men stedfastly supporting one another: thirdly, Mr. Wheeler adhering, on his arrival at Bengal, to the same interest, placed Mr. Francis at the head of the party: and lastly, he conceived, that the Court of Directors had, in many instances, condemned the former conduct of the Governor General too pointedly, to give up the pursuit of driving of him out of the chair.

All these circumstances, added to his vast self-importance, formed the idea in his mind, that he was the fly on the wheel, who had railed all this dust.

THE

THE next ship, the next ship, and the next ship, that should arrive, would most certainly bring out his appointment to the government. The change of tone in the Letters from the India House, recommending unanimity in their councils, passed unobserved. Nothing would go down with Mr. Francis and his friends, but that his abilities were become so necessary to the preservation of the Asiatic provinces, that Parliament would, *nem. con.* pass an act, to fix him with unbounded powers in the government. Sweet delusion of the mind! by which so many of us become Generals, Admirals, Kings, and Emperors. What pity, that a little human certainty, in one moment of time, blasts all our ærial hopes, and drives us back upon ourselves! A packet over land arrived, and brought advice, that a temporary act had passed into a law, leaving things in Asia, for the present, just as they were.

Now, Sir, be so kind as to turn back to Mr. Francis's Letter to the Court of Directors, and see with this honest and simple clue, which I have given to you, whether you will not be able to discover what turn of mind he was in when he wrote it.

THOUGH the Letter is addressed to the Court of Directors from Bengal, as containing matter of important information in the affairs of the Company

pany, copies were also sent at the same time, to his private friends, and inserted in all the daily papers, long before his own arrival. There was certainly a want of decorum in this, when it is remembered, that he charges them in unequivocal terms, with a constant deviation from their true line of duty. That is, whilst their Letters condemned the conduct of one of their oldest and most approved servants, and supported the measures of General Clavering and himself, all was right; but when they returned to approve what they had no real cause to condemn, direct abuse was all they had to expect from Mr. Francis. He tells them he had, during the whole time of his residing in Bengal, furnished them, by every mode of conveyance, with every information in his power, and that he was about to quit it. What further intelligence had he to communicate, but what they already knew? for their advices from Bengal, which had lately come to hand, were of much later date than the time he left that place. Why then press so hard for an audience with a body of men, whom, in their corporate and official capacity, he had so lately insulted in the face of the nation? Mr. Francis had gotten into their service without their consent, had made a princely fortune in it without their complaining, and left it without their permission. In continuing Mr. Hastings in the government of their affairs, no injury could be done to him, whose breach smarted

smarted in his father's school for his false construction of Horace, many years after the Governor had been resident at the Durbar of Cossim Ally Cawn, where, if his mind had been bent on the accumulation of money, he might now have rivalled certain Baronets in splendor, and not have been in the way to have furnished matter of false information to Mr. Francis. Was the post of second in the Council General, of Bengal obtained in five years, from being a Clerk in the War Office, too little for his ambition? and was the continuing in the government too much for Mr. Hastings, after thirty years services? But we must make great allowances for a man, whose consummate vanity induced him, in a fit of the spleen, to quit so important a station, to which he now looks back in the bitterness of his soul! Such a man, in such a situation, falling back by degrees, to his original rank and station of life, must feel the most bitter pangs of malicious disappointment. His pride makes him look down on his quondam acquaintance, who have not been so fortunate; and those with whom his vanity would induce him to associate, look down on him; and he has nothing left for it, but to run to Westminster, to play at question and command, where his spleen is fed with the idea, of his having some importance left yet, because the ready answers he gives, gratifies the political intentions of men, who most certainly hold him in contempt.

WHEN

WHEN you condescended, Sir, to ask him if he was the author of a Letter which appeared in the public papers, dated Calcutta, December the 12th, 1780, signed Philip Francis, it would not have been much more degradation of your dignity, to have put another question to him of the same nature, viz. Whether he was, or was not, the identical Philip Francis, to whom a Letter had been addressed by one Captain Price, charging him, in the most pointed and direct terms, with having been guilty of every thing of which a gentleman should have been ashamed, and publicly sold in the booksellers shops of London and Westminster. In what, Sir, would have consisted the difference of the two questions? for, in my opinion, neither of them contain much parliamentary information, which I presume, is the business you have in hand.

BUT my particular business with you, Sir, is to prove, that there is nothing new or singular in the famous Letter, No. 8, of your appendix; for Mr. Francis entered Bengal with the same four fullen determination, not only to condemn the prior administration of Mr. Hastings, but to draw from it the same gloomy conclusion, which occupied his mind at his coming away, that the Court of Directors must prepare themselves to hear very shortly, of the final ruin and destruction of Bengal. I shall take my first quotation, Sir, from the very

first

first Letter that the Majority wrote to the Court of Directors, and that in a few days after their arrival at Calcutta. It is, Sir, the last paragraph of of a very long Letter, all in the same stile of despondence, and I shall contrast with it, a sentence of the Letter you have thought proper to immortalize.—With what justice to the Governor General, or credit to the Committee, it does not become me to determine.

November 30, 1774:

“ THE true condition of this country cannot
 “ long be concealed; effects will be found be-
 “ fore they are accounted for. When that hap-
 “ pens, we foresee no difficulty in determining by
 “ what means, and by whose misconduct, a rich
 “ and flourishing state is reduced to the hazard,
 “ at least of beggary and ruin. The great and
 “ alarming question will be, by whose future ser-
 “ vices, and by what future exertion of virtue and
 “ ability, such a state can be recovered? Com-
 “ mon men are not equal to the occasion.

“ J. CLAVERING.

“ GEO. MONSON.

“ P. FRANCIS.”

Calcutta;

Calcutta, December 12, 1780:

“**A**T the end of six years, since the institu-
 “tion of the present government, the con-
 “cluding state of facts is, that the men, whose
 “conduct you have so condemned, have never
 “received any serious proof of your displeasure,
 “but on the contrary, have been continued in
 “trust and station by a new appointment; and
 “the principles and measures which you have
 “constantly reprobated, have been suffered to pre-
 “vail and operate, from year to year, to their pre-
 “sent conclusion, in the face of your own orders
 “and instructions, against the most strenuous op-
 “position in the Council; and notwithstanding
 “the strongest remonstrance, both public and pri-
 “vate, accompanied with the clearest explanations
 “of the real state of affairs here, which have been
 “sent home by every means in my power, since
 “my arrival in the country. Look back to the
 “situation of your affairs, as long as Sir John
 “Clavering’s efforts and mine, had weight enough
 “to preserve the peace of India, to which, in the
 “first article of our instructions, you ordered us
 “to fix our attention, and compare it with that
 “to which an opposite policy, permitted, if not
 “encouraged, by yourselves, has reduced them:
 “Every step that led from one to the other, was
 “regularly marked to you as it was taken; every
 “event

"event that has happened was foretold, I will
 "not now predict to you, what is likely to be the
 "condition of all the Company's possessions in
 "India; at the time when you will receive this
 "Letter, you will have facts enough before you to
 "judge for yourselves.

"The struggle to which I have dedicated my
 "labours so long without effect, and in which I
 "have sacrificed my repose and the peace of my
 "mind to no purpose, is now at an end. In the
 "course of three months I mean to quit Bengal,
 "and return to England, where it is possible my
 "presence may be of some use to the Company,
 "though it is of none here.

I have the honour to be,

Gentlemen,

Your most obedient,

humble servant,

(Signed) P. FRANCIS

Would not any man imagine, that these singular paragraphs were part of one Letter, and that they were written, in the same gloomy desponding turn of mind, by the same hand, and within six minutes of one another? No such matter; the one is a part of the first literary composition of Mr. Francis,

Francis to the Court of Directors, after his arrival at Bengal; and the other an extract from the last letter he wrote them before he left it. I shall take occasion to give you some further instances of this gentleman's talent at the pathetic. I must own that it makes me laugh, to see such a man's production, so seriously taken up by a detached body of lawmakers from the awful Senate of Great Britain, and brings to my mind a story I have heard of old Governor Boucher of Bombay. The old gentleman was very fond of a composition of weak liquor, much used by Europeans in Asia, called country beer. A European Captain of one of the Company's ships (who, by the bye, knew just as well what was proper for the preservation of the natural body in that country, as Mr. Francis doth of the means to preserve the political one) asked the Governor why he drank so much of that slow poison, country beer. "Very slow indeed," replies the old man; "I have used it these fifty years, and here I am yet".—I know, Sir, that you love a story; I will apply it properly, and excuse me the digression.

I must now, Sir, beg your patience, whilst I take a retrospective view, as far back as to the time your honourable Chairman made his last and most lucrative voyage to India; the proceeds of which, has enabled him to look down with a haughtiness of contempt on his fellows, not un-

D

common

common in such a character, and to take the lead as a full grown genuine Nabob, in bearding the old and honourable families of the kingdom.

IN the year 1765, Lord Clive (spare his memory, you his envious contemporaries, until you have convinced us, that fewer human frailties have fallen to your share, than were to be found in the composition of that great man, and first of English soldiers) arrived for the last time at Bengal, convinced by woeful experience, that the Princes of the country were not to be trusted with the collection and disposal of the revenues, without involving the provinces in perpetual war, anarchy, and desolation. He therefore procured from the King, or Great Mogul, Shaw Allum, the grant of the dewannee for the Company, and thereby secured the peace of Bengal, from that hour to this. But what human foresight shall save us from political blunders and mistakes, and the dreadful consequences of private avarice and fraud, in the disbursement of public money? His Lordship's estimates of the annual receipts from the revenues, were candid, honest, clear, and fair: And could he have bequeathed us his own superior spirit, to have checked the disbursing hand, we had been safe; but instead of that, he left behind him, growing up to maturity, monsters of gigantic size, whose devouring maws the income of no revenue could satiate.

THE

THE late war with Cossim Ally Cawn, had increased the expences of the army department immoderately. His Lordship had modelled it, and ascertained the fixed monthly expences pretty accurately. But ask your Chairman, who it is that shall draw a line for extraordinaries or contingencies, in the disbursements of a vast body of military men, who conceived that the wealth of the Company, acquired by their prowess, was inexhaustible? You are, Sir, too well read in the history of conquering states, and that of the human heart, not to know, that when generals must have their thousands, subalterns will scuffle for their hundreds. Add what figures you please to my numbers, the fact remains the same; nor will you, or your friend, mistake the inevitable conclusion.

THE New Fort, an immense undertaking, had hitherto gone on but slowly; but now orders were received to perfect that, and to complete the cantonments of Burrumpore, Dynapore, Budge-Budge, and other expensive undertakings in the military department.

THE managers at home, from his Lordship's representations, had been seized with a species of that enthusiastic madness, which had nearly ruined the national credit in the year 1720. The value of patronage ran high in Leadenhall-Street; and the

civil list, as well as the military, at Bengal, was overloaded with new adventurers, from counsellors to writers, and from generals to cadets. Every man put in for a share of the inexhaustible mine of treasure lately discovered at Bengal.

THE government of that province was called upon to swell the cargoes of the homeward bound ships, to enable the Directors to divide amongst the Proprietors of the Stock, something in proportion to the ideas which had been formed of the advantages to be reaped from the acquisition of the dewannee. At the same time they were enjoined to support and supply the Presidencies of Bombay, Madras, and Bencoolen, as well as the factors at China. All this the immediate successor of Lord Clive in the government, attempted during his administration, until government was distressed in every department, and the bonded debt at Bengal, was running fast up, including the deposits, to the uncommon amount of a million sterling. The easy, well meaning disposition of this gentleman, induced a relaxation of discipline, both in the military and civil service; begot a habit of expence, and a love for dissipation; which produced their constant attendants, collusive fraud, and peculation in office, in every department. This torrent of corruption, which he delivered over with the the government, to his virtuous and capable successor, was more than mere well-natured honesty was capable to stem.

I pass particulars, to come at once to that tremendous visitation the famine, which completed the difficulties and embarrassment of government. If people are the riches of a nation, Bengal, at that dreadful period, lost a fourth of its temporary wealth.

In the end of 1765, Lord Clive had found that at Bengal, the expences, remittances, and outgoings of every denomination, amounted to the sum of 1,800,000*l.* per annum. In 1771, it amounted to 3,300,000*l.* And the neat income never exceeded 2,500,000*l.* Here is an annual deficiency of 800,000*l.* per annum. Your Chairman, Sir, acted in a very high station in the government, and had the command of the army at Bengal, for three years, in the very middle of that interesting period, that is, from the beginning of 1767, until the end of 1769, which was before the famine; will he say that he felt a conviction on his mind, that Bengal could not bear its then weight of expences? Or on what other principle was it, that he moved first, and supported with all his weight, in the Secret Committee, and in the Council, to draw bills on the Company, against their positive orders, for near a million sterling, and then to get out of the country before their indignation could be felt?

To a man who holds himself up for so great and disinterested a reformer and a patriot, the obtaining

a channel of conveyance for a part of his own immense fortune, to the almost ruin of the men in whose service he acquired it, could never have been his real motive.

THE managers at home, had speculated deeply themselves in the China trade; and their struggles to keep ministerial influence out of Leadenhall-Street, had cost much private and public property. They were falling into arrears with government, with the bank of England, with the freight owners, and with their tradesmen, when the bills from Bengal, broke over their heads like a thunder storm.

IN such critical situations, a change of hands in the ministerial department, is what all governments fly to for relief. Mr. Hastings was ordered from Madras, to take the government of Bengal; not because the reigning Governor wanted either integrity or abilities for his station, but there are distressing situations in human affairs, to which governments are, from various causes, reduced, which require great masters in political exertion to repair. (*I believe, Sir, that you will not assent to that remark.*) When Bengal was to be conquered, and re-conquered, Clive, the immortal Clive, was the man; but he would himself, if now alive, yield the palm for political abilities, to Governor Hastings. Turn, Sir, to the Company's records (if political investigation be part of your present enquiry) and inform

inform the public fairly, what measures Mr. Hastings pursued for immediate relief. He turned the channel of remittance, which amounted to three hundred thousand pounds per annum, sent out of the Bengal currency, to pay the troops in Sujah ul Dowlah's country, to an influx of double that sum for years together, from the Vizier's dominions into the Bengal provinces, besides obliging that ambitious, artful, but timorous Prince, to maintain a full third of the Company's army, to guard his country, and form a barrier for him, which he had neither the abilities or spirit to do for himself. Though this was the man that your friend, the *muster roll General*, was, or affected to be, afraid of, four or five years before, when he called out for a deputation, which cost the Company immense sums to carry into execution. Perhaps Mr. Hastings owes the present spleen of the man towards him, to the necessity he was under of shewing the pusillanimity of the measure. Mr. Hastings entered on the government in April 1772: he had the resolution to stop the whole of the King's stipend in the Company's coffers, who had wilfully removed out of their protection, and was plotting with their enemies to disturb their quiet, and to reduce the Nabobs a full half. The great investments for Europe were continued, and increased; the supplies and remittances to the Company's other settlements, were carefully transmitted. But I will produce a paper drawn up by a gentleman,

whose

whose authority Mr. Francis himself will not dispute: it was transmitted to Europe in the month of April, 1775, when the rage for driving Mr. Hastings out of the government run highest. You, Sir, who have now the controul of the Company's records, may compare it with their books, if you please.

“Mr. Hastings, on his accession to the government of Bengal, found the country drained of specie, involved in a heavy debt; the collections but barely able to defray the expences of government; trade, both inland and foreign, greatly on the decline; no select uniform system adopted, for governing the extensive dominions of the Company; the whole business of administration wrapped up in confusion and perplexity; profusion and extravagance in all public disbursements; and the money of the Company expended without check or controul.

“He has, by the treaties with Sujah ul Dowlah, not only brought upwards of ninety lacks of rupees in specie into the country, and rendered money plenty, where it was in the greatest scarcity; but he has also stopped that great drain of money annually exported from these provinces, for the support of a brigade out of the Company's territories, by throwing that expence on the Nabob of Oude. He has paid off more than seventy one lacks of rupees,

rupees, of the heavy debt due by government at his accession: the whole is advertised to be paid, and is in actual course of payment, there being sufficient for that purpose in the treasury; so that in 1776, there will not be a single incumbrance on this government. The savings, and the new sources of revenue, arising to the Company from his good management, amount to one hundred and seven lack and fifty thousand rupees (10,750,000) per annum. During his administration, the inland trade has been open to Europeans, natives, and men of every denomination; the greatest protection and encouragement given to inland, as well as to foreign traders; by which means the trade of this country has greatly increased since his accession to the chair. He is the first Governor who has new modelled the form of government, by establishing salutary laws and regulations, for the administration of justice in the country courts, for conducting the revenue business, and for the internal government and police of this country. The business of administration has been by him unravelled, and branched out into different departments. It has been disentangled from that perplexity and confusion in which it was enveloped. He has retrenched all unnecessary charges; or he has reformed establishments for all the different expences of government, which being checked and controuled in the most rigid manner, it is no longer in the power of those who disburse the money of the public, to defraud or impose on their employers.

“ Ready

“ Ready money actually received into the Calcutta treasury, on account of the treaties made with the Nabob of Oude, in various kinds of Rs. 76,00,000

Remaining due from the Nabob of Oude, part of which is actually on the road to Calcutta — — — 14,00,000

Which adds to the circulation in Bengal, of specie, Sec- ca Rupees of Oude — — — 90,00,000

Or Current Rupees 95,26,549 3 6

Which sum of Rupees, 95,26,549 3 6, valued at the exchange of 2s. 2d. it will appear that Mr. Hastings has added to the real wealth of this country — — — £.1,032,042 16 7

Debts paid off by Mr. Hastings:

On his accession, the bonded debt amounted to the sum of Cur. Rs. 135,39,960, with interest, of which he has already paid — — — 71,13,405

“ The

"The remainder is advertised to be paid off, is in actual course of payment, and there is sufficient money to discharge it, set apart for that purpose ————— 64,26,555

Total bonded debt discharged by Mr. Hastings ————— 135,39,960

Add the debt due to the claimants on the restitution, totally liquidated and paid off by Mr. Hastings ————— 13,00,000

Of the compensation to Col. Monro, has been paid ————— 1,74,000

Total debts liquidated by Mr. Hastings ————— 150,13,960

Valued as above, at the exchange of 2s. 2d. amounts to £.1,626,512 6 8

Annual savings, and new sources of revenue, arising to the Company, from the management of Mr. Hastings:

"Savings

" Savings on the civil and
military establishments — 45,00,000

Revenue arising to the Com-
pany from salt — — 20,00,000

Ditto on opium — — 5,00,000

Board of customs, all inland
chowkies, or petty custom-
houses, abolished, which were
a source of great vexation and
oppression to the natives, and
the duties collected by the
board of customs, with ease
to individuals, producing to
government more than ever
they did — 4,00,000

Rs. 74,00,000

Increase on the Calcutta
customs, which must be an
incontrovertible proof of the
increase of trade during Mr.
Hastings's administration — 2,50,000

Savings to the Company by
the expence of a brigade being
defrayed by the Nabob of
Oude — — 31,00,000

" Total

“ Total amount of annual savings, and new sources of revenue, arising to the Company ————— 107,50,000

Which sum of Cur. Rs. 107,50,000, at 2s. 2d. each £.1,164,583 6 8

Cash and stores supplied the Company's other settlements, since the accession of Mr. Hastings, in April 1772, to the 25th of October 1775.

Cur. Rs: a. p.
To Bombay 50,26,377 14 0

Fort Marlborough 2,80,591 4 3

Balamban- gam — 10,11,741 12 9

Canton — 3,00,000 0 0

Total sent out, Cur. Rs. 66,18,710 15 0

Which at the exchange of 2s. 2d. is — — — £.717,027 0 4³

Total

In

In the foregoing paper, Sir, you have a fair account of exertions, and instances of a vigorous reform in administration, brought round in the space of three years, that would have saved the Company, and restored their affairs in every part of the globe: But the die was cast, and nothing that Mr. Hastings had done, or was about to do, could be known time enough in Europe, to stop for a moment, the hue and cry gone out throughout the land, against all sorts of persons that had served in India. Select and Secret Committees had been formed by the House of Commons: Your present Chairman, now a virtuous inquisitor, was then deemed a culprit. Some parliamentary chastisement, in a certain purgatory, has purged him of all his defects, and he is become a new man. How pure and immaculate Mr. Hastings passed that fiery ordeal, you know, Sir, better than I do. I only know that when his whole scope of conduct, as a public and private man, shall be fairly laid before the nation, no friend of his will have cause to blush for any action of his life. But a man so situated, must have numerous enemies. The loss of lucrative posts and employments to some, and the refusal of them to others, however necessary in the true discipline of government, is remembered with rancour and spleen for years to come, and not only creates, but multiplies enemies; whilst all the good things a gentleman in high station has to dispose of, are sunk and silently forgotten in that bottomless

pit and sink of ingratitude, a man's own importance, and self imagined merit.

WHEN the reports of the Committees came out, it appeared that Mr. Bolts's industry had operated in the manner that some think Mr. Francis's will do now. Your Chairman knows what kind of men the Armenians, or pretended agents, of Mr. Bolts, were, and how Bolts himself had acted in India, as well as I know how Mr. Francis has acted there. Give us but a fair investigation into the Governor General's conduct, it will soon destroy the effects of this your partial taking up.

THOUGH I detest and abominate the principles on which Bolts has acted in every part of his life, and am convinced that he is now misleading the Germans, as heretofore the English, yet I will not insult his understanding, by comparing his mercantile and political knowledge in the affairs of Hindoostan, with that of Mr. Francis. Born with a talent or faculty of learning languages, he acquired with facility, the most difficult, whether of the dead or of the living, in less time than most other men. To this rare accomplishment, he added an invincible perseverance of industry, and curiosity of investigation. Go on shore where he will, in Europe or in Asia, he talks with the rulers of the land in their own tongue, and draws his information from the fountain head. What an advantage

is this to an enterprising genius ! I wish somebody was at hand, who has more knowledge of the man than I have, to finish the character, by asserting that he possesses an honest heart.

SEE Mr. Francis on his arrival at Bengal, sitting at his writing desk, wrapt up in the idea of his having become the fifth part of a king, taking his political information from a Banyan, standing and bowing at awful distance, and no better versed in the English language, than the famous talking parrot at Wood's Hotel, under the piazza in Covent Garden ; or at best from some disappointed servile countryman, whose spleen to the Governor General, betrayed him into giving interesting or fallacious advice. Then attend this important man, so instructed, to the council chamber ; and hear him, the fifth day after his arrival, disputing against and over-ruling the political knowledge of the Governor General. But surely we have now done with experiments, and shall send no more full grown politicians from war offices, or other offices, to mangle the King's English for months together, before they can obtain for themselves a glass of cold water, much less sufficient to carry on the affairs of government, without being dupes to the passions of some designing and interested individuals, whose business it is to deceive them, as was really the fate of this majority. If it would be deemed highly absurd, to send an ambassador to a foreign court, without

without understanding one word of the language of the country, is it less so to send men to govern a vast empire, who are equally ignorant?

BUT the Company had passed the rubicon, in engaging to pay to government, 400,000*l.* more than they could at that period afford, and at the same time make good the expected dividend to the Proprietors, and support their expences at home and abroad. The famine, which, throughout the nation, was thought to have been caused by an avaricious monopoly, and keeping up of the grain by the Company's servants at Bengal, had so soured the temper of the very best men in this kingdom, against all orders of Indians, that the noble Lord in the blue ribbon (as in times gone by, was the appellation he was known by) might, if he had been so inclined, have proscribed every denomination of his countrymen at Calcutta. But he is neither sanguinary, avaricious, ungenerous, malicious, or vindictive. His foibles have been the inherent weakness of the greatest men in all ages; fond of power, he was obliged to stoop to some unavoidable compliances to keep it. The patronage of the west was slipping through his fingers, and the moment was propitious to supply its place by that in the east. With affairs so circumstanced, and the Company pressed on all sides (more from the impatience of their lordly creditors, than a want of real ability, could they have been indulged

without

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with

with a little time) to pay their debts, they were obliged to apply to government for relief; and the property which ought, in justice, never to have been extorted from them, was lent them for a time. But in that evil hour, the ministerial chain of influence encircled them round about. A set of new civil and military servants, and the dreadful apparatus of a monstrous judicial institution paid out of their treasury, and both independent of them, added to their annual expences 150,000*l.*—*A ministerial mode of easing their embarrassed circumstances!*

GENERAL Clavering, Colonel Monson, and Mr. Philip Francis, accompanied by the Judges, left England in the Spring of 1774, in transport ships, provided by government, and nominally commanded by King's Lieutenants; for the Company had too great a sense of the injury done them by the Regulating Act, to submit willingly to the exportation in their own ships, of powers pregnant with so much mischief to their provinces abroad.

THEY landed safely at Calcutta on the 19th day of October. The same year, the Regulating Act, with the Charter of Justice, was publicly promulgated, and their several powers established with great order, peace, and solemnity; and Mr. Hastings, in reward for four and twenty years active and faithful services, had a feather stuck in his cap,
by

by being in the act denominated Governor General, instead of the former appellation of Governor and President of the Council ; but his power and influence was as effectually done away, as if he had been dismissed from the service ; except the chance of survivorship, which ultimately saved the Company in Bengal.

I must for a moment wander into the shade of conjecture, but it shall not be for a long continuance, or strained beyond the bounds of extreme probability. Ideal supposition, void of sound reasoning, and soaring into the regions of fiction, beyond the ken of possibility, I leave to Mr. Francis.

BEFORE the triumvirate had left Europe, it had become a general and prevailing opinion here, that a gentleman who had held the government of Bengal for three years, would be no way displeased at having a decent opportunity given him to return home, in order to enjoy the immense fortune, which the bountiful people of this country always bestow on them. What contributed to the fixing these ideas in peoples minds, was the singular circumstance, that not one man had continued in the chair at that Presidency, full three years, since we had been obliged to conquer that country in self defence.

THE Regulating Act had appointed the Governor and Council for five years; but the Governor, or either of the Counsellors, might resign if they pleased; though no provision was made to supply a vacancy, however caused, but by an appeal thro' the Company to the King, and by this oversight, the Ministry, in some measure, defeated their own intention, of governing Bengal in future, by a set of their own creatures; for providence interposed, and gave back the government into the hands of the man of the Company's own choice.

GENERAL John Clavering was, as I have heard, at the time he left England, in the fifty-seventh year of his age, in command of a regiment, in possession of a government, of high rank in the army, and easy in his fortune: Would he, so circumstanced, have gone to India, had he conceived that he should have to stay five years for the government?

COLONEL George Monson had once commanded an army in India, had a rooted dislike to the country, it never having agreed with him, and would not have left England, had it come to his turn to have had a regiment in the King's service. I conclude therefore, that he would not have passed into Asia, with the idea of waiting five years for the command of the army, which he must have done, had the General lived so long without the chair.

As

As to Mr. Francis, circumstanced and situated in life as he was, 10,000*l.* per annum, was worth going any where for.

It has been asserted, and in some degree I believe it was true, that on their arrival in the river of Bengal, some furious malcontents got round them, and misrepresented every circumstance of Mr. Hastings's public and private conduct, as having a strong bias to the gratification of his boundless avarice. These men had been vexed and disappointed, by the Governor's schemes of economy in his late arrangements. But it is contrary to every man's experience, nay, it is contrary to nature, to suppose that the Majority, composed of old and experienced men, trammelled in the ways of the court, the camp, and the city, would instantly imbibe the prejudices and passions of strangers, (*uninfluenced so to do, by some private views of their own,*) against a man in so high and important a station, with whom they were to act in the affairs of government, and whose character, to use their own words, "stood so high in the opinion of the world." It is, however, no less singular than true, that the three new gentlemen never did sit down to a social or friendly meal with the Governor, except on the first day that they landed; and even in the evening of that day, stories were circulated about the town, of their being highly disappointed and disgusted, at the manner

manner of their reception,* with remarks and circumstances so contemptibly low, and pitifully minute, that was as far beneath them to countenance, in the manner they certainly did the following days, as it is for me to repeat, or for you to hear. But the mind of man is restlessly inquisitive. An instant breach between the two members of the old administration, and the three members which were to complete, and, by their numbers, direct the new government, was known, and talked of in the settlement, even before they met in council to do business, and the vanity of each individual induced them to fancy, and to report, what they thought was the cause.

THAT these whisperings and idle stories, served to enrage the parties, helped to keep them asunder, and prevented timely explanation, may be true ; but we must look into the human heart, and attend to certain facts, and there we shall directly find the original cause for the sudden and extraordinary conduct of the Majority towards the Governor General. No men could know better than the Majority did, who had left England so recently, how

* " The complaints of the Majority, that they were not received with proper ceremonies, was mentioned to me personally, by Mr. Francis, and the offence they had taken on that account, was the subject of conversation in public company."

See Mr. Hastings's remarks on some minutes of the Majority.

highly

highly inflamed the minds of all orders of men in this kingdom, were against their fellow subjects in Asia. Their speculation, and, in the case of Bolts, violent proceedings, had been brought home to direct proof, (which your Chairman, Sir, ought never to forget,) and the causes of the famine were laid directly to their account. Nor did it escape the Majority, that if it should square with their politics, to write whom any the most infamous accounts of the conduct of the managers they found in India, it would in general be believed here. But to come to what I think was the two leading and true causes of their positive and declared resolution, of making Mr. Hastings so uneasy in the government, that he should not long continue in their way.

THEY had, Sir, on their passage out, stopped at Madrafs, where Mr. Hastings's true character was well known. There, to their astonishment, they learnt, that during his whole life, he had shewn the most open, disinterested, and real contempt of money. That the humanity and forgiveness of his disposition, enabled him to correct abuses in government, without making to himself many enemies; and that his charity was so boundless, and his heart so open to every attack from misery and distress, that it had always kept him without much command of money; and that he was at that time known to be so far from having made a fortune, that

that he had not cleared off some incumbrances, which hung on him during his whole stay at Madras.

Had I your power, Sir, and his permission, I could go into a tale of facts and circumstances, of his high generosity and humanity, in support of the assertions of the Madras inhabitants, as should leave not an unbeliever, as to this part of his character, in this kingdom, *your present friends and their supporters, always excepted.*

On their way from Fort St. George to Bengal, the triumvirate had time to ruminate on what they had heard from all sorts of people during their stay at Madras. Perhaps no resolution was formed, until on their first arrival in the river. General Clavering was visited by an old and silver-headed sage of his former acquaintance. This man was, from recent disputes with the Governor, furious against him to a degree of madness; and the ships being many days coming up to town, full time was given to infuse his own ideas into the Majority. He had, though not then in the Company's service, a competent knowledge of the political situation of their affairs. He gave in a list of names, of every man of eminence in the service, and placed their characters opposite, drawn through the mist of his own inflamed passions. With such an instrument in their possession, they landed. Not a

man was suffered to approach them, but such as were recommended by this violent statesman, who was appointed the General's Persian translator; and who was considered by the whole party, as the *premier* of the new government. No friends of Mr. Hastings, either black or white, could come near them; nor dare a word of truth, or moderation, enter their doors: they were as completely surrounded by spies and informers, as any the most weak Prince mentioned in history, has been in his palace. No single step was taken by the Governor, in his public or private capacity, but what was directly misrepresented. Even his virtues were turned against him, without a particle of pride, ostentation, or vanity, in his composition. His neglect of state and parade, which he copied from the good man his predecessor, as congenial with his own feelings, had begot a freedom, ease, and neglect of ceremony, in the military and civil departments of state, and in the officers of his household, that was called fear of exacting his right to kingly respect, from a consciousness of guilt. Whilst he thought of nothing but how the gentlemen should be brought on shore with ease and convenience, and be politely and respectfully received, by some members of the then administration, at a landing place near the government house, our Machivaelian Counsellor was pointing out to them the horrid neglect, and premeditated insult, of their not being ushered through the New Fort, in all the pomp of military

military parade and exhibition. The very silence of the people, was said to have been the effects of management; as if any human being could have influence enough to restrain the huzzas, and other symptoms of applause, in forty thousand of the promiscuous inhabitants of any civilized nation upon the earth, if they felt an impulse so to express their approbation.

It happened (though this also has been wrongfully stated) that Mr. Barwell, the fourth in rank of the New Council, and a Member of the old, did not arrive from his late Chiefship of Dacca, until four days after the Majority had come to Calcutta. In the interim, Mr. Hastings had signified his intention to lay before them, at the first meeting of Council, a retrospective view of his past measures, and future plans, for completing the relief of the Company's embarrassments in Europe and Asia; and with his usual candour declared, that he had neither inclination or intention to quit the country, until the whole should be perfected.

THE character which they had heard of the Governor at Madras; his present honest, though impolitic and premature, declaration of his intention to remain in the chair; his well known, and constantly avowed, predilection for the climate of Asia, in preference to that of Europe; his ambition of raising himself high in the opinion of his Sovereign and

and countrymen, (the only crime I ever with justice heard laid to his charge,) the incessant assurances of the new Minister to the Majority, that if they would begin the attack, he would furnish the proofs of the Governor's guilt, and thereby enable them to drive him out of the chair; do certainly furnish us with some leading clue, for finding out the cause of their sudden and violent enmity, to every action of Mr. Hastings, and the late administration.

WITHOUT intention to criminate the dead or the living, I am inevitably led, by my desire to defend the honour of an absent and innocent man, against the effects of the barbarous insinuations held up in your report, I shall, regardless of consequences to myself, of private or public resentment, probe facts to the bottom, in search of motives to actions, that are not other ways to be accounted for.*

* "We pretend not to look into the hearts of others, but we exercise the right allowed to all mankind, of judging of intentions by facts."

See defence of charges against Governor Gen. Hastings, by

J. Clavering.

Geo. Monson.

P. Francis.

N. B. No bad authority on which to establish a right of examining their intentions by facts.

I THINK

I THINK then that General Clavering had in him strong symptoms of that vice of old age, *avarice*. I have heard that when he left England, his regiment in the King's service, was continued to him; his sinecural government not taken away; his private fortune ample; his civil and military appointments in the East India Company's service, amounted to 16,000*l.* per annum; (considerably more than the immortal Clive ever had given to him by this country, or by the Company;) yet that he did from the Island of Madeira, on his way to India, solicit the India Company for more.

GENERAL Clavering might easily calculate how much his severe economy would have enabled him to save in five years, from his 16,000*l.* per annum; but it is not in the nature of avarice, to feel contented with limited ideas of acquiring wealth. I neither say, or intend to be understood to mean, that General Clavering was not a man of rigid honesty: That he would not rob a treasury, or take even a sixpence which was not legally his right, I most seriously believe: But the Governor's salary exceeded his, by the tempting sum of 9000*l.* a year: And there are fascinations which encircle the plenitude of power, that subdue the minds of the sons of men in such a manner, that it will require the whole grace and mercy of heaven, to save some of us from perdition. Add to this, that he had seen partly on record, and heard every day from the lips

lips of tradition, that a certain predecessor in the command of the Bengal army, (look round you, Sir,) had, in the space of three years, scraped together, without ever having seen a public enemy, more than double of the whole of his five years allowance.

COLONEL Monson left no fortune behind him in Europe, to accumulate in his absence. He was a man of high and hospitable household expence; and so determined against receiving of presents, that he would not only not touch a nazier, (a few silver rupees, or perhaps a gold mahor, always presented by country gentlemen, according to their rank, on their first introduction to their superiors, as a mark of respect, the refusal of which, hath ever been deemed a kind of insult to, or foolish deviation from, the established usages or customs of the country,) but sent back to a well meaning Englishman, a piece of fed beef, presented, because not to be bought in the common markets. With such determination against the very scraps of homely bribery, and princely notions of the necessity of the pomp and parade of state, equal to his idea of his rank, what, at so expensive a place as Calcutta, could the Colonel save out of 10,000*l*. per annum? Positively nothing.*

* "In obedience to the prohibition in the Act of Parliament, we have refused all naziers or presents whatsoever. The Gover-

" nor

THE idea of coming at the end of five years, to the command of the army, could have conveyed no gratification of ambition, to the mind of Colonel Monson. He had commanded a more powerful army in Asia, many years before, at the siege of Pondicherry, and only did not command it at the reduction of that place, from his having been badly wounded, in gallantly leading on the grenadiers to the storm of the Bound Hedge, and was obliged to leave it to the command of Colonel (now Sir Eyre) Coote : therefore, his being to labour in an unwholesome climate, every way disagreeable to him, for so long a time, for a bare maintenance, held up no very pleasing prospect, to a quick, impatient, and lively mind.

As to Mr. Francis, his casting vote raised him (to speak in his own phrase) from the fraction of a king to monarchy itself; and he suffered not to go by, the glorious opportunity of serving very am-
 “ nor General has given his reason for accepting such naziers, and
 “ paying them into the Company’s treasury.

Separate Letter from General Clavering, Col. Monson, and Mr. Francis, to the Court of Directors, for the affairs of the honourable united East India Company.

Fort William, November 30th, 1774.

Query; Are you able to keep steady the muscles of your face, Sir, on reading the above ridiculous and ostentatious display of mere legal honesty so tightly laced:—Outrageous virtue in the sons of Adam, ought always to be suspected, in whatever shape it appears.

ply,

ply, himself, his relations, his dependents, and his particular friends. I push not this argument nearly so far as it would bear; recrimination is no part of my design, further than to explain motives past, and present intentions. I envy not the General, his Persian translator, the venal lawyer, or the willing evidence, their wealth and seats in the senate house, however acquired; but I feel disgusted at seeing them supported in their diabolical plans, by a man so capable of giving weight to any cause, as you, Sir, most certainly are.

WITH such explanations of the views and dispositions of the Majority; with such a concise, and, I hope, clear retrospect of the state of affairs at home and abroad; with the account I have given you (not to be controverted) of the declared sentiments of the triumvirate, not to hold familiar converse with, or give countenance to, any, but such as implicitly condemned every measure of the late administration; you will be, Sir, at no loss to guess what sort of men, of all casts and conditions, such avowed principles of action, were likely to draw round them.

I RETURN now to my promise; that is, to bring proof that the letters which you have honoured with an exhibition in the appendix to the report, No. 7 and 8, signed Philip Francis, contain no new matter, nor one single assertion which has not
been

been refused, or that are every day going on to be refused, by accounts received from India. So that nothing can save him from the contempt of even you and your Committee, Sir, but a cruel reverse of fortune in our Asiatic affairs, which he, and such men as he, are now praying for. Nothing would be more cordial to their minds, than to hear of the total defeat of our armies under the Generals Goddard and Coote, the loss of Bombay to the French, of the Carnatic to Hyder Ally Cawn, and an invasion of the Bengal provinces, by the united forces of the Nizam, or Subah of the Deccan, the Paishwah, and Rajah of Berar, (the two great branches of the Mahratta empire,) with Hyder Ally Cawn, and the whole to be headed by the French from the Islands: But the prayers of the wicked shall not prevail.

To the reasons which I have deduced, to shew the unremitting assiduity of the persons employed by the Majority, who directed the mode of attack, and determined the commencement of it, on the very first meeting of Council, I shall subjoin a few quotations from the letters, which they wrote to the Court of Directors, from the 25th of October, six days after their arrival in Calcutta, to the 23d of April, the time of sailing of the last ship of the season, when they hoped that the extraordinary and voluminous collection of vague charges and bold assertions, which they had, by the means of their

prima

prime minister and his agents, collected together, vilifying the conduct and principles of the Governor General, would of themselves bring about his recall from the government, without one particle of proof being waited for or required. For the extracts from their letters, I must refer you to the Appendix (for I also have an Appendix) No. 1.

The quotations have been selected from several hundreds of the same stamp which you may find on the Company's records, purely with intent to shew you, Sir, that the Majority, on their arrival at Calcutta, set out on one uniform plan of attack on the conduct of Mr. Hastings, grew warm as they advanced, until their zeal degenerated into the most unpardonable scurrility, and personal abuse; in which temper of mind, two of them sunk into the grave; and the other lives, only to continue the same extraordinary mode of conduct, without ever having been able to establish one single fact, either at home or abroad.

It may be supposed that Mr. Hastings did not suffer the whole of the voluminous charges exhibited against him, to pass unrefuted. But what share of abilities, what strength of mind and resolution, or what length of life, is equal to answer the monstrous calumnies, accumulated by such men as his opponents appear to have been, aided by a minister, who publicly opened a house for information, to

which resorted every villainous informer resident in a vast kingdom, male and female, black and white,

THE temper with which the Governor General bore all this, made people blush at the enormous violence of the Majority, who never blushed before. I will, Sir, present you with a few instances of his temper, in quotations from his remarks on the Majority's charges; not with intention to refute them, that has been already done, by the malice, the violence, the absurdity, want of charity, and total deviation from truth, in the men who drew them up, but to open your mind to an introduction of facts, that shall effectually do away the horrid insinuations contained in a part of the report, the dreadful tendency of which first induced me to take up the pen.—See remarks of Mr. Hastings, on the charges of the Majority, No. 2, Appendix.

WE come now, Sir, to that extraordinary mixture of assertion and insinuation, in the report of the Committee, which added to the foregoing and subsequent part of its contents, inevitably leads the mind of the reader to conclude, that Mr. Hastings was, directly or indirectly, concerned in the prosecution for forgery, of Maha Rajah Nundoomar, and in consequence of such his interposition, the man lost his life, on political, rather than on judicial principles; from the influence of party, more than

than the dictates of law, or the rules of justice: I believe, Sir, that you would deem a reader extremely stupid, that could read with attention the whole of the report, and not have that idea strongly implanted on his mind. What then is to become of the moral character of a man, who has been repeatedly appointed, and re-appointed, by the legislative and executive powers of his country, and at this moment, continues to execute the office of Vice Roy, in the most important remaining part of the British empire, totally ignorant of the means used to destroy his honour, in the opinion not only of his Sovereign, but also in the opinion of the Members of both Houses of Parliament, from whose united decision there lies no appeal?

ARMED only with truth, and a very scanty pittance of common understanding, I enter the lists in opposition to the spirit which seems to animate the Committee against this much injured gentleman, fully convinced, that you must destroy my facts and assertions, by some stronger and better evidence than Mr. Francis, or any other man, hath yet produced, or your much laboured composition will sink into waste paper.

I CALL upon the Proprietors of East India Stock, and Directors of the Company, to consider candidly both sides of the question, before they determine against so old, so able, and so faithful a ser-

vant as Mr. Hastings. The two great and awful branches of the legislature, I most humbly conjure, not to be satisfied with partial representations, which lead directly to criminate an absent man, unheard in his own defence.

Extracts from the Report of the Select Committee, page 49.

“ YOUR Committee, considering the safety of com-
 “ plaint, as the foundation of all redress to griev-
 “ ances, find themselves indispensably obliged
 “ to call the serious attention of the House, to
 “ the case referred to, in their Report of the last
 “ Session, page 59, namely, the case of the
 “ Rajah Nundcomar.

“ A NATIVE of the highest rank, and of an or-
 “ der reputed sacred throughout India, was capi-
 “ tally executed in the city of Calcutta, with cir-
 “ cumstances the most shocking to the prejudices
 “ of the people, and which conveyed, according
 “ to those prejudices, the idea of offence and insult
 “ to all classes of men. The crime for which this
 “ native was executed, namely, that of forgery, is
 “ not capital by the laws of that country; though,
 “ by a statute made within this century, it has been
 “ made so in England. The criminal fact al-
 “ ledged, was, at that time, and had long been,
 “ in

“ in a course of examination in a civil suit, the
 “ event of which was to be decided by the authen-
 “ ticity of the instrument, said to have been forg-
 “ ed. In so extraordinary a case, the execution
 “ of the sentence, might, and ought, to have
 “ been respited, until his Majesty’s pleasure should
 “ be known. The omission of such respite is the
 “ more to be noticed, because the Chief Justice,
 “ in his letter to the Earl of Rochford, of the 25th
 “ of March, 1775, complains, that “ he had al-
 “ ways felt great inconveniences, from being
 “ obliged to inflict upon offenders, the same punish-
 “ ments which are inflicted in England, for the
 “ same offences.” His first instance is in the appli-
 “ cation of the law of capital punishments. He
 “ certainly had it in his power to respite the sen-
 “ tence,

“ THE circumstance which brings this omission
 “ whom to the point at present under the observa-
 “ tion of your Committee, is this, That the Rajah,
 “ thus denied a respite, was, at the very time of
 “ his apprehension, under the protection of the
 “ Council, in the midst of his evidence against Mr.
 “ Hastings, the Governor General, on a charge of
 “ peculation, and abuse of his office, in taking mo-
 “ ney from the natives,

“ YOUR Committee has received it in evidence, that
 “ this trial and execution, was looked upon by many
 “ of

" of the natives as political : nor does the Commit-
 " tee conceive it possible, that, combining all the
 " circumstances together, they should look upon
 " it in the light of a common judicial proceeding,
 " but must regard it as a politic measure, the ten-
 " dency of which is, to make the natives feel the
 " extreme hazard of accusing, or even giving evi-
 " dence of corrupt practices, against any British
 " subject in station, even though supported by other
 " British subjects of equal rank and authority. It
 " will be rather a mockery, than a relief to the
 " natives, to see channels of justice opened to them,
 " at their great charge, both in the institution and
 " in the use, and then appeals, still more expen-
 " sive, carefully provided for them, when, at the
 " same time, practices are countenanced, which
 " render the resort to those remedies far more dan-
 " gerous, than a patient endurance of oppression,
 " under which they may labour."

FORMER committees have produced some posi-
 tive facts in support of their conjectural opinions,
 such as bribery, peculation, and other crimes,
 brought home against the culprit, which laid his
 honour and common honesty in the dust. With
 such undisputed facts before him, which, from
 their notoriety, force, and conviction on the mind,
 a reader of humanity, though he may not place
 implicit confidence in all the following conjectures
 of the examiners, yet will find himself prone to
 admit,

admit, that a man who has been guilty of one atrocious crime, may have gone on to commit others yet more flagitious.

Has this been the case in the present instance? Is the abandoned characters of his Majesty's Judges at Bengal, so fully established, as to justify a conclusion, going to the full extent applied in the above quotation from the report, that they have been capable of acting so culpable a part, in so blasted and diabolical a tragedy?

You are now, Sir, a Minister of State, mounted high on the wings of fortune, and basking in the sunshine of royal favour; in which exalted situation, I advance close up to your nose, and in the face of the nation, throw down my gauntlet of defiance at your feet, daring you to take it up, and produce proof, which shall be admitted in the courts below, that in the whole course of the life of Governor General Hastings, in his public capacity, or as a private gentleman, he has been guilty of one single action, that will go to the justification of the crime implied in the above horrid insinuations, glancing as they do, directly at him.

The inhabitants of Calcutta, Sir, well know the characters of your colleagues, (the Soldier, the Cutcherryman, and the Lawyer,) and will read the above parts of the report with the most ineffable contempt;

contempt ; well knowing that their moral characters are placed high above the reach of the insinuations of such a triumvirate, though aided by the parole evidence of a man, who seems to have been educated in the college of Nundcomar, hereafter to be spoken of ; and who, with the addition only of a straw in his shoe, will become highly qualified to represent the electors of Cricklade in Parliament.

THE trial of the Rajah was published here, and has been, or may be, read, by every gentleman who shall be called to give an opinion on the subject matter of the report ; the merely judicial parts of which I studiously avoid, and shall speak only to the above quotation which has been extracted from it, and seems to imply that Mr. Hastings was interested in the destruction of the man.

I do then confidently declare, that Mr. Hastings never had but one opinion of Maha Rajah Nundcomar ; that he at all times held in utter detestation, the principles and character of the man ; that he never did employ nor trust him, but at the express desire and command, of the Select Committee of the Court of Directors, and then with a cautious diffidence, that did not escape the Rajah's penetration ; all which will appear to the conviction of any unbiassed person, who has candour enough to peruse with impartiality, the cloud of unimpeachable evidence, which I have collected together

ther in the Appendix, No. 3; every particle of which had been transmitted to Europe, and was on the face of the Company's records, before it was known in Bengal, that the Majority were coming to India, or that the Governor could know (except by inspiration) that the man whose vices he had so fully and completely descried, would be one of the instruments used by the Majority to attempt his own destruction. When the reader has perused the papers in the Appendix, on the subject in hand, I would appeal to his candour to know, whether he does imagine that a Governor of Bengal, with the experience and abilities of Mr. Hastings, would, if he intended to raise a fortune by indirect means, employ such a man as Nundcomar to effect it for him, or trust, in so dangerous a piece of mal-administration, the friends, dependents, and connections, of such a Minister?

If Mr. Hastings had any interest at all, in the case, it must have been that the man should live, to have attempted the establishing of his pretended charges against him in the Supreme Court of Judicature, in the doing of which, his villainy must have appeared on that, as on every other occasion. But that was not what the Majority really intended. They were no strangers to the Rajah's true character, and wanted only to use him as an instrument, to insult the Governor in the eyes of the settlement, and for that reason he was introduced by

Mr.

Mr. Francis into the council chamber, while the Governor General was seated in the chair of state:

I must go, Sir, a little more into a detail of facts, in order to prove, that it was the improper interposition of the Majority of the civil government, and the encouragement given to the Rajah, to expect every support that their influence and power could give him, which brought on his ruin. I shall speak to two other facts, which, from being blended and confounded together, with the grand one of the Rajah's political dispatch into eternity, have caused them to be wilfully misrepresented also.

If I swerve in the least from the line of truth, in relating the following circumstances, there are two men at your elbow, that can, and I hope will, call me to order, not merely by a private and silent negative nod, or expressive shrug, to the members at your own table, or in your own house, for that shall not serve them; it must be by an open, fair, and candid refutation of my assertions, (if they dislike them;) and that I may not be mistaken, one of the persons whom I mean, was superintendent of the cutcherry, or country court of justice, at, or about, the time the Judges arrived; and the other came with the Majority to Calcutta, and took the lead in defending the Rajah on his trial. They were both in the secret; and had the latter of them not been well paid for his services, no opportunity could

could have offered for shewing his gratitude, in the manner he now does, to his friend Mr. Francis, in attempting to revive *the good old cause*, at the expence of an injured and absent man, and that in a manner, not very unfamiliar to the means used for the same purpose at Bengal.

In the year 1769, an eminent banker, who was an inhabitant of Calcutta in Bengal, died, and left his estate to be divided into certain proportions amongst his family, and in a vast number of legacies, to particular people, and to charitable uses. His two nephews were declared in the will, to be the trustees of the estate; but he ordered that a particular friend of his, should direct all the concerns in settling his affairs, agreeable to a power of attorney, which in his life-time he had given to that friend, jointly with a certain broker, who had always transacted the business of his house; but this last (the broker) was to act, or not to act, after his death, just as his confidential friend should determine.

At the time of the banker's death, the East India Company owed him a sum of money, amounting to 200,000 rupees. On the receipt of this money from the Governor and Council, in a great measure depended the fulfilling of his bequests; and he had recommended to the care of Maha Rajah Nundcomar Bahadar, his patron, the office of soliciting

soliciting the payment of the money from the Company's agents, in behalf of his family. The payment was made in a number of the Company's notes or bonds, drawn for small sums, to facilitate the negociation of them. The bonds were carried to the Rajah, by one of the trustees or nephews, and confidential friend, or acting administrator, to the estate of the deceased banker, and left in the possession of Nundcomar.

SOME little time after, the same nephew, and friend, accompanied by the broker, (who was now called upon to act agreeable to the power of attorney, and desire of the deceased in his will) went together to the Rajah, to obtain the bonds, in order to settle the affairs of the banker's estate. At this meeting, the Rajah produced one bond of the deceased banker's to him, for 10,000 rupees, another for 48,000 rupees, and two other papers, or bills, of his, for 35,000 rupees, for *darbar charges*; which expression is always understood to mean, money given to men in power, in return for favours obtained by means of their intercession, and by which the Rajah, agreeable to his constant practice, insinuated that he had given to the Governor 35,000 rupees, to procure the payment of the money. When he had separated as many of the bonds from the number received, as amounted to the three sums above mentioned, and delivered the remaining Company's bonds, and the cancelled bonds

bonds and bills, to the executors as vouchers for them, he desired that the eight Company's bonds which he had reserved as due to himself, on account, might be indorsed over to him. It was necessary that the deceased banker's book-keeper should do this; and the trustee, the friend, and the broker, when they took leave of the Rajah, carried with them one of his servants to see it done. It was done, and the bonds were re-delivered to the servant of the Rajah. To this stage of the business nothing appeared. The bookkeeper obeyed the positive orders of his late master's particular friend and executor, in indorsing the eight Company's bonds over to the Rajah, but not without making the following exclamation:—"Good God! what has all this money been paid to the Rajah for! my master owed him but ten thousand rupees."

This matter did not make much noise at the time; and when any of the legatees wanted to bring the Rajah to account, the friend or manager of the estate, and the wife of the deceased banker, always interposed, by saying, Why should we, for a little money, disturb the quiet of the patron and friend of our dead master? This in the wife, who was to enjoy the fourth of the neat estate, was very disinterested; but people who know the piety and virtue of a great majority of Hindoo women, will not wonder

wonder at such an exertion of those godlike attributes in an Asiatic widow. But the confidential friend of the banker, does not appear to have had credit given him, for being actuated by such noble motives as the widow; for when she had retired, to spend the remainder of her days, into the interior part of the country, some of the legatees began again to disturb the Rajah; and complaint was made in the Mayor's Court, that the acting executor of the dead banker, had conveyed away some necessary papers belonging to the estate, and this brought on him the suspicion, that he had been in league with the Rajah, in order to defraud the estate of his unsuspecting deceased master.

Heavy complaints were made of this business, and a suit commenced against Nundcomar in the country courts. A spirited young gentleman, then president of the cutcherry, sent and arrested the Rajah, for contempt of his court, and without paying any regard to the solicitations of the Governor of Bengal for the time being, (not, by committing him, to disgrace a Nobleman and Bramin of his high order,) he sent him to the common prison belonging to his court; there to lie "*with rogues forlorn, on wet and musty straw.*"

This commitment being only for contempt, the Rajah, by making proper concessions, got out again, and the suit went on. *I pray the reader not to forget the above circumstance.*

SOME

SOME time in the year 1771 or 1772, the acting administrator to the estate of the banker, and supposed private friend of the Rajah, died; and Nundcomar, who, with his assistance, had kept proof of his forgery from appearing against him in the country courts, became again in danger. Our Mayor's Court, from the nature of their charter, could not take cognizance of civil suits between natives. This, and their idea that a man, who had possessed himself of other peoples money in the manner the Rajah had, could only be obliged to return it, is supposed to have prevented an earlier appeal to our criminal law. By dextrous management, it was represented to the Mayor's Court, that the only surviving executor to the estate of the banker, then at Calcutta, was incapable, both in body and mind, to go on to manage his uncle's estate; and an order was obtained, that all papers relative thereto, should be delivered into the hands of Mr. William Magee, the Register of the Mayor's Court.* With this man, the Rajah was said to

* "Mayor's Court, Calcutta, January 14th, 1772.

"Ghosaine, by his attorney, William Magee, informed the court, that Pudmohon Dofs, one of the executors to the last will and testament of Bollakey Dofs, was lately dead, and that Gungabessen, and his brother, Hengro Lollan, who is at Parna, are the remaining executors; and that Gungabessen is incapable of taking charge of the affairs of the said Bollakey Dofs; ordered that William Magee, register of this court, shall forthwith take charge of the books and papers of the estate of the said Bollakey Dofs, deceased, and settle the same, and report to this court a true settlement thereof.

have

have made interest; for during his life-time, proof, as heretofore, was held back from the Country Courts. This was one opinion; but there was another, Sir, which bore hard on your little friend, the Cutcherry-man. He best knows how it came about, that no decree passed, for against the Rajah, in his court, whilst he presided; and from some circumstances of his conduct, which came out afterwards, we are at liberty to suppose what we please; as to the compliances of his temper, in the capacity of a Judge. If he says these are calumnious insinuations, I will admit, that they are but hints to times past—Damn'd broad ones, to be sure—But he knows that the man who makes them, is at hand, and will be produced if he pleases to call for him, *being always at home.* At the same time let him advert to the business he is about, and recollect the abominable insinuations entered upon record, against the honour of a man on the other side of the world, whose amiable disposition, and integrity of soul, he knows, but hates him for them, as much as Mr. Francis does. There was not a man in Calcutta, who did not believe that the Rajah had forged the papers, with the assistance of which, and the connivance of the confidential friend, and acting administrator, he had defrauded the heirs at law, and the legatees of the banker's estate. It was also strongly believed, that Mr. Magee had, during his registership, destroyed them. But in about three months after the arrival of the Judges, and the establishment

establishment of the Supreme Court, Magee also died.

At this time a set of hungry wolves, of dastardly, selfish lawyers, had been let loose on the settlement, and they prowled about in every corner in quest of prey. They all knew this story of the Rajah's, and each was eager to catch hold of the vouchers (if they existed) to sweat this original Nabob. Some in your house, are tolerable copies of this great original Machivaelian hero, but they are but copies.

Supreme Court, March 24th, 1775.

“MR. Farrer, advocate for Gungabessen, surviving executor of Bollakey Dofs, deceased, moves, that two chests, containing accounts and vouchers relative to the accounts, of the estate of the said Bollakey Dofs, deceased, and also twenty-eight bonds and receipts, belonging to the estate, which were deposited in the registry of the late Mayor's Court, at the instance of William Magee, may be delivered to the said Gungabessen.”

“MR. Brix, advocate for Seebnout Dofs and Lauchmon, administrators of Pudmohon Dofs, deceased, who was one of the executors of the said Bollakey Dofs, deceased, objects thereto.”

G

Nor

Nor to teize you further with hard outlandish names, I shall only observe, that Pudmahon Doss was the name of the friend, and the acting executor to settle the affairs, and the man who, through fear, fraud, or on some unknown principle, permitted the Rajah to cheat the estate of his friend; and Gungabessen was the nephew, or one of the trustees appointed by the will. This last was the person whom the Mayor's Court set aside, as insufficient, from debility of body and mind, to conduct his own affairs, and gave the papers to Magee.

FARRER, the lawyer, you see, brings him on the stage again as a capable man, and prays the court to order him the papers of his uncle's estate. On the future trial, however, it appeared, that he was so extremely ill of a disorder, which had hung on him for a long time, that the surgeons declared on oath, an attempt to bring him into court, might cause his death.

AFTER all, neither Farrer nor Brix could obtain the vouchers: for the truth was, Magee had not destroyed the forged bond, and two fictitious bills for durbar charges, but only put them from amongst the other papers belonging to the banker's estate, into a box containing some very dirty and old records of the court.

WHILST

WHILST every lawyer in Calcutta, was endeavouring to come in for part of the spoil, either in attacking or defending the Rajah, it came to be known, that the vouchers had not been destroyed.

I AM not quite certain how the truth came to light; but I have heard that a black writer, who had acted in the Mayor's Court, under the register, Magee, gave a hint to the Company's lawyer, in what part of the register's office the papers were to be found, and he flew with them to the sick nephew, or trustee of the banker's estate, who, at that time, lived in the house of the broker so often mentioned, and who, by virtue of his joint power of attorney, had acted in the affairs of the estate, since the death of the banker's friend, and principal executor. A meeting of all the legatees on the spot, together with the book-keeper, was called; and the whole being convinced that the Rajah had cheated the estate, by means of the false vouchers now in their possession, of so capital a sum as eighty odd thousand rupees, which, if recovered, was to be divided amongst them, and the broker having in view 5 per cent. on the sum, if received by virtue of his power of attorney, it was unanimously agreed by the book-keeper, the legatees present, and the agents for absent legatees, that the broker should prosecute for the good of the whole.

THE wife, and one of the nephews, of the dead banker, being absent, and the friend dead, the Rajah had not one well wisher at this general meeting, but the sick nephew; and he, by the warm revenge of the book-keeper, who had served the family his whole life, the avaricious views of the broker and legatees, was hurried on against his will, it was said, to admit of the prosecution. The papers were produced, the fact was sworn to before one of the Judges, (as acting Justice of the Peace for the day,) and the Rajah committed to the county goal. This whole affair was so sudden, that not one of the Majority, nor of the Minority, knew any thing of the matter, until the Rajah was lodged in prison. The Deputy Sheriff did offer to bail him, but the sitting Justice said it was a criminal affair, and bail could not be admitted.

Now, Sir, if you please, let us pause a little, to examine your assertions of the matter being considered by the country people as a political one. I shall admit that neither the nephew, the book-keeper, the legatees, or the broker, looked further than to the disgrace of the Rajah, and the recovery of the money. The Company's lawyer had certainly a view to the obtaining a good sum from the Rajah, on the idea that he should be able to quash the evidence: And it is not unlikely but he might have effected it, had he only had Hindoos to deal with, who are averse to the spilling of blood, and
in

in particular that of a Bramin ; but he had snatch-
ed the prey out of competitors hands, who were
as greedy and knowing as himself, and who, spirit-
ed up by the Majority, joined against him in sup-
port of the Rajah, and undertook his defence.

It is very singular, that the Judge who commit-
ted the Rajah, was on but indifferent terms with
Mr. Hastings. No enmity between the men them-
selves : it was a lady war, which sometimes will
engage and draw aside the attention of the wisest of
mankind. I mention this only because it was con-
fidently said, that the Justice acted in obedience to
the wishes of the Governor. If he did, it was a
proof of his being a bad courtier, for the loaves
and fishes lay on the other side ; and he could not
take Mr. Hastings's opinion, for the Governor
knew it not himself until the next morning ; when
he said to the persons near him, I am sorry for it ;
the refusing bail, though the act of a gentleman,
who must know his duty in such cases, will be laid
to me. He guessed right ; much abuse was heaped
on both : it was called a concerted scheme, to de-
stroy the honour of a man of rank, and make his
life miserable, by the forfeit of his cast or religion,
from the contamination he would receive by his
being in prison one moment. What had been done
by a Factor in the Company's service (*as noted
above*) with great impunity, little noise, and no
damage to the Rajah, was now the most daring
piece

piece of political temerity in the King's Judges, who all agreed the next day, not to admit of bail, though every indulgence was ordered to be shewn the prisoner by the officers of justice.

It may be worth while to observe, that the Sheriff who, by his office, held the prisoner confined, was Mr. Francis's brother-in-law, who had followed his fortune to India, and by his influence became Sheriff, which, in Calcutta, has always been considered as a very lucrative office. The Deputy Sheriff and the goaler, with all the inferior officers, held their places immediately from him. It will then, I hope, be allowed, that the Rajah was as well treated, as the situation he was in would admit. As to encouragement, the Majority, and all their friends, I have heard, visited him in goal. Of the Majority doing it in person, I am not quite certain; but their *minister*, and all their friends, did it daily, and almost hourly. It was given out that the man would rather die than eat, in his present circumstances. He was considered as a martyr to the cause of truth, by the few who thought like the Majority, who really seemed to have given up not only their opinions, but also their consciences, into the direction of their *minister*,

ANOTHER circumstance singular enough to be observed, is, that the prosecuting lawyer, and the Rajah's two council, who had undertaken his defence,

fence, had been nominated by the Majority to their offices of counsellors, and lawyer for the Company.* The latter used to boast, with great indiscretion and vanity, that he would save the Rajah's life, if his council would consent to his paying the debt, and give him a handsome sum. This the others treated with great contempt and scorn, declaring that they were sure of obtaining an acquittal of the Rajah, and bringing the prosecutors to shame. It ought not to be forgotten, that the Rajah, tho' all his life engaged in scenes of prodigious villainy, as may have been seen in the Appendix, No. 3, yet could not possibly conceive, that, supported as he was, by the whole weight of the Majority, in whose hands rested the civil and military government of the state, he stood in any danger from the judicial power; it was an idea that was not yet formed in the mind of an Asiatic; the experience of Nundcomar's whole life, ran counter to it. I want, Sir, your abilities, to express myself fully, and as I feel, in this part of my subject. Turn, Sir, to your friend, the cutcherry hero; ask if what I assert is not strictly true; and from his answer

* "It appearing to us that the Company will be engaged in many suits on behalf of these people, we have employed Messrs. Farrer and Brix, as standing council, and Mr. Hercules Durham, as attorney, in behalf of the Company.

Extract of a Letter from the Governor General and Council, in the revenue department, dated in Calcutta, the 25th of February, 1775.

determine,

determine, to whose account it ought to be laid, that the Rajah lost his life on principles of policy, if policy had any thing at all to do in the matter.

SURROUNDED by the Majority's friends and creatures, and taught by the council who had undertaken his defence, that no harm could approach him, if he set heartily about preparing properly for his trial, a house was opened by Nundcomar's friends, in the most bare-faced manner, for bold daring swearers, and ready money evidence, to resort to. People went about the town, to find out men of strong memories, in order to have them trained. The Rajah had by him the seals, which he had applied to the forged bond, and the hand writing of persons, whose hand writing was to some other papers, which was thought would be wanting. An instrument was prepared, to which the seals and writing was fixed, in every respect similar to the forged bond; and the men selected to study a story to give in evidence, pertinently and aptly, went to school regularly every day to the Rajah's son-in-law, and they were brought to him in jail, to be cross examined and perfected in their story, and every thing was supposed to be quite ready at the time the assizes came on.

FORTY-eight English gentlemen of unblemished characters, were summoned by the Sheriff on the grand jury. Their names were written on several bits of paper,

paper, and thrown together into a box. A separate list of the names in the box was called over, to see if all the gentlemen were there. The under Sheriff held the box, and the clerk of the crown drew twenty-three names from the forty-eight that were in the box, who were sworn in on the grand jury, and the gentlemen so chosen, went through the evidence in the most solemn manner, and unanimously found the bill. I say unanimously, because that is not always the case; and certainly if packing could have been suspected in the Sheriff, it was not against the Rajah. The same form and regularity was observed in the impanneling the petty jury; but of those summoned, there were above eighty. The Rajah had a list in his hand, and as he knew of himself, or by his friends, the character of every Englishman in the settlement, who were such as could be summoned on a jury, he, from notes set opposite their names in his own language, challenged many. At length a jury was sworn in, the Rajah pleaded not guilty, and the trial began.

OUR English counsellors at law, (and I believe the gentlemen of that profession, in all civilized nations, think that they have a right to go great lengths in defence of their client,) fought the Rajah's battle bravely; but not having the use of the country language, could give no assistance in training the evidence; nor was it easy for them to keep their features steady, in certain parts of the trial.

Four

Four men were brought to swear to a long account of their being present, when the forged bond was written by one man, executed by another, and witnessed by three others; that all the principals were dead except the Rajah, in whose favour the bond was drawn; and even the servant who brought the ink-stand, was dead; but they four, who, tho' of the very lowest order of the people, had come in by accident, to visit a Prince and Bramin, and saw the transaction, without having any thing to do with it, were alive yet, swore to the seals, and pointed each man's particular one, though cut in the Persian character, which neither of them understood. At first they went on very well; but one of them being asked a question by the foreman of the jury, relative to some fact which he had spoken to in the middle of his evidence, said he could not begin in the middle, he must say it as he had learnt it, from beginning to end. Another being shewn a paper, which he had said an hour before, was of his own hand writing, and desired to write in the presence of the court, that they might compare it with the paper, said he could not write. He was then desired to read what he had before sworn to have written, and he replied, he could not read. Mr. Brix, one of the council for the Rajah, could not stand that, but fell off his guard so much, as to exclaim, "By G——d, this is too much." The other council, however, kept firm, and applied to the court for blank subpoenas, supposed to be
with

with intention for the Rajah to put any man's name in the blank, whom his party out in quest of volunteer evidence, might think proper; but this the court refused. After seven days sitting, the trial ended, by the jury giving in a verdict, *guilty*.

Now, Sir, I would ask you, if Mr. Hastings had been mad enough, foolish enough, or wicked enough, to have interposed, by himself or friends, either to have hanged or saved the Rajah, at what period of time was it to be done? From the moment he was committed, to the last hour of his life, the man had strong hopes given him that he should be saved. Let those who fed him with such hopes, and prevented his complying with the proposals of the prosecutors' lawyer, of getting the whole evidence drawn off for certain sums of money, answer, when called upon, for the pernicious and ruinous advice, which deluded that unfortunate bad man, and led him blindfolded, as it were, to the foot of the gallows. For not the least pains was taken to open his eyes concerning the independence of the judicial power, on the morning of his exit. He certainly asked the goaler, if the Majority had signed the warrant for his execution; and had to learn in his last moments, what his death made known, for the first time, to the inhabitants of Hindoostan, that there existed a power in the Supreme Court, which, in their own line of duty, was not controulable by the civil power.

SIR

SIR Robert Chambers, one of the Judges, did move his brethren to postpone the execution, until his Majesty's pleasure should be known; but he was informed, that there lived at that time in the town, a banyan, or country merchant, who had been convicted of forgery at the quarter sessions at Calcutta, in 1762; but on a petition being given in to the Governor and Council, signed by vast numbers of the most respectable inhabitants, setting forth that forgery was considered but as a venal offence, by the laws and customs of the country, and as that was the first instance of a trial for that crime, which had happened since the English had settled amongst them, they prayed a suspension of the sentence, until the matter could be referred to the King. The first name in that petition, was that of Maha Rajah Nundcomar Bahadar, who himself, eight years afterwards, committed the same offence in the same place. Sir Robert withdrew his motion, which I am sorry for; not that I think it would have made any alterations in the opinion, or in the conduct of the Majority. Long before the Rajah was, by their *minister*, set about making out *arzies* in the *barromet shop*, (in English, collecting materials for impeaching their President in the college of informers,) they had pledged themselves in the most solemn manner, to the Company, to the Ministry, and to the nation, to prove the Governor General to be the most vicious man, and mal-administrator, in the King's dominions. This repeatedly

repeatedly promised great proof, nor one single particle of it, has yet been forth coming : The sum total of the honour of the whole party, stands now collected, and depends on the parole evidence of Mr. Philip Francis. What weight such a man's assertions would have in a civil suit against Mr. Hastings, for the recovery of one hundred pounds in Westminster-hall, I cannot say, but I do think that an English jury, who knew their duty, and considered every circumstance, would pass it by.

As to the circumstance of Mr. Hastings's placing the Chief Justice at the head of the Sudder Dewannee Adawlet, to decide on appeals from the country Courts of Justice, it ought to be remembered, that the experiment of trusting the Supreme Court, with an interfering power which they had extended into the provinces, had impeded the collecting of the revenues, and produced consequences of so pernicious a nature, as to induce an opposition to it by violence from the civil power, to avoid the evil which must have ensued, from being obliged to wait a decision of the matter from home : But this deciding, to confine the power of the Supreme Court, to the bounds prescribed to the old Mayor's Court, was going to the other extreme, and defeating the intention of the legislature, in establishing some check on the provincial courts, over which the Company's servants presided. This, I really

really think, has been sufficiently restored, by placing one of the Judges in the post given to the Chief Justice. I wish the three Judges were to have held it in rotation; for on the single circumstance of Sir Elijah's having it alone, hangs the whole of the evidence of the supposed collusion. I also wish the Committee had accepted of Major Scott's declaration, that the account of the fixing of the salary, had not been sent to him by the Governor General to Madras, because it carries conviction on the face of it. Mr. Hastings had entered his intention of doing it on record: Why then hold back the certainty? If the matter had passed in Council, could he possibly have conceived that unfavourable conclusions could be drawn from his not having advised his agent of a thing being done, which most likely was not done, and at the same time order him to declare, that it was in agitation to be done?—(The last year's judicial act is now with them, and I prophecy, that it will induce the Chief Justice to come home. Sir Robert Chamber's will succeed him in the chief justiceship; and he and Mr. Hyde, will do the business of the old limits very well, the present heats will subside, and the country be at peace.)—No; but it was a damned political job, to put into the Chief Justice's pocket, eight or ten thousand pounds, before the plan could be reversed. Be it so. All that can be inferred from it is, that if a man in Mr. Hastings's situation, shall be reduced, from political necessity, to
move

move a step out of the high road laid down for him; though to save the state, that shall not save him. If he conceals it, he is a knave: if he declares it, he is a fool. Though honesty is said to be the best policy, the world will not abide by its own axiom. Many accidents happen in the government of the world, where true honesty and true policy, mingle as badly together as oil and water. You, Sir, are a great statesman, and have been heard to say, that in your opinion, Mr. Hastings's politics were crooked politics. Excuse me, Sir, for saying, that I think your conclusions are crooked conclusions; that the evidence you have adduced in support of them, go no way to the proof.

Thus are the only genuine materials, from which future historians are to collect the history of the nation, vitiated at the fountain head. Should Mr. Hastings be now dead, and the pressing distresses of this declining state, multiply so fast upon her, as not to allow time for a complete investigation into his conduct, I shall be no way surprised at meeting, in some monthly or annual register, some such account as the following, for the month of December, 1782.

“DURING the course of this year, Great Britain
 “has been particularly unfortunate. She has been
 “stripped of nearly the whole of her transmarine
 “possessions. Minorca has fallen to the arms of
 “Spain;

“ Spain ; three fourths of our West India Islands
 “ have been captured by the French ; America
 “ will treat with us as *independent* States, or not at
 “ all ; and our affairs in the East Indies, have fallen
 “ into great confusion and disorder. This last has
 “ been entirely owing to the *crooked politics* of that
 “ monster of iniquity, Governor General Hastings.
 “ That rapacious and blood thirsty man, died in
 “ ——— last, raving mad, after having accumu-
 “ lated the enormous sum of two millions sterling,
 “ by all sorts of oppression. The immediate cause
 “ of his death, is supposed to have proceeded from
 “ the horrid twitchings of a guilty conscience, for
 “ having been concerned with the Judges of the
 “ Supreme Court, in causing to be put to death, a
 “ very innocent man, a great Prince by his rank,
 “ and a first Bramin, that is an Archbishop of a
 “ place called Hindoostan. This dreadful conspi-
 “ racy has been brought to light, with many other
 “ of his enormities, by that virtuous and good man,
 “ Mr. Philip Francis, who, it is said, will have a
 “ red ribbon, and be sent to supply his place.
 “ This last may be depended on, as he is the parti-
 “ cular and confidential friend of our great statesman
 “ and patriot, the Right Honourable Edmund
 “ Burke, Esq. one of his Majesty’s principal Se-
 “ cretaries of State, &c. &c.”

If, Sir, your Committee have been quite right
 in their conjectures, the historian will not be much
 out

out in his conclusions ; but if they should have been quite wrong, as I dare prophecy it will prove, what reparation can be made to an injured man ? Alas, Sir, do you mean to proceed to act on no better authority in affairs of government ? Will evidence so futile, so weak, and so suspicious, as what you have accepted in the present instance, justify your conduct ? Come down, Sir, for God's sake, from the pedestal to which you have clambered up. Such instances of your partiality ought to convince us, that you are not the man to approach the ear of Eve, or prop a throne.

COMBINATIONS, triumvirates, and proscriptions, destroyed the characters, and deluged with the best blood of her citizens, the streets of Rome, when that empire hung tottering on the brink of destruction.

THE rabble of that once mistress of the world; got drunk, and rioted in every dirty excess, when Marius subdued, and Cæsar triumphed over the true pillars of the state. And the pent up mob of the King's Bench, forced out lights, and broke windows, with every degree of lawless licentiousness, when you became a minor Minister. Exalting the plebian, and humbling the patrician families, has been " young ambition's ladder," in all free states. Your blood, Sir, I believe, has not yet been enobled.

H

WHEN

WHEN your Reports are completed, and Bill of Pains and Penalties prepared, I would recommend your friend the Chairman, to advert to a circumstance or two, which having, as it should seem, slipped out of his mind for the present, may come athwart his imagination during his harrangue, and chance to spoil his eloquence. For instance, when he comes to describe the enormity of wasting the Company's money, in giving to the Chief Justice, 5600 rupees per month, for undertaking a line of duty, which probably may restore peace and order to the country, will it not occur to him, how angry he was with the Governor and Council, for supposing that he wasted their master's money, when only a Colonel in their service, he charged 5700 rupees per month for his table expences, and at the same time drew 2550 rupees per month, pay and batta? The King thought proper to give the Lord Chief Justice, the rank next to the Governor General, though a general officer in his own service, and a Knight of the Bath, commanded the army. Is 5600 rupees per month, too much to support the dignity of the first judicial officer in a great kingdom; and 8250 rupees per month, too little to serve the same purpose for a child of obscurity, or at best a soldier of fortune? Will he dare to hint at the Chief Justice's legal salary of 8000*l.* per annum, which he knows from his experience, and from his conscience, is barely sufficient to maintain a Member of the Board of Trade, who lives in any degree

degree of stile, in a country where they are considered to be next in rank, to the great officers of state; and at the same time must know, that by my turning to the records of a committee, (who, by keeping to facts, left the world to judge of private character,) would enable me to prove that more than 20,000*l.* per annum, did not satisfy him; and that from positive sums, which we know he received for three years together; without saying a word about emoluments, or paying the King's tribute in a certain species of rupees, the very name of which might chance to grate upon his ear? If he thunders out his eloquence against debarring the natives of substantial justice, where will the little Cutcherryman find a hole to hide his head? Yet, Sir, with these men have you joined, assisted by an evidence, that would be whipped at the office in Bow-Street, or Hicks's-Hall, to attack, in a most unprecedented manner, the honour of an absent man, whom you do not esteem, because you do not know. His character has been given to you in a manner, that would disgrace the most infamous bog-trotting witness in your own country.

THOUGH it may strike you, Sir, that this plain language can come only from a *statesman out of place*, I do assure you that I am no statesman, or wish, or hope, to become one. I am, however, a well-wisher to my King and country, and grateful to the East India Company, for what I have

only in view to enjoy. Possibly thirty years experience in the affairs of India, may entitle me to say a few words on a subject, which I hope your House will attend to, in the formation of any future regulating bill on Asiatic business. What I have learnt, was gathered in my passage from youth to old age, conversing with all sorts of inhabitants in every part of India; not as your officious and partial evidence, Mr. Philip Francis, learnt his, from inflamed interested men, and persons who spoke English like jackdaws, and that in the circle of four miles in circumference.

EVER since the year 1750, I have known something of India affairs. Of all the confusions and disorders, of all the hair breadth escapes from total ruin, in which I have seen the Company's affairs so frequently involved, I never could discover but one cause for such dreadful and fatal effects, and that cause yet remains, and seems to have got such fast hold on the state, and on the Company, that repeated and almost ruinous experience, has not yet induced them to attempt a remedy, though it is in their power, and nothing can be more simple. Instead of conferring a steady responsibility, in political and revenue affairs, to one man, they have constantly thrown it down in their different settlements, for their governors and council to scuffle for, and most pernicious consequences have always and for ever ensued. Is there a man in England, who
can

can, at this moment, say whether Lord Macartney, or a majority of the Members of the old Council at Madras, holds the direction of affairs, and of course the responsibility at that Presidency? or who can tell me whether Mr. Hastings on one side, or Mr. Wheler and Mr. Macpherson on the other, have now the government of Bengal in their hands, and of course the power of continuing the war, or making peace, with all the potentates on the continent of India. Ask at the India House, and the Secretary will tell you who is Governor at any one of the Presidencies, and give a list of the Council, but he knows no more than you do, with which fractional, or factional, parts of the aggregate body, the power, that is the responsibility, lies. For the last twenty years, not a season has passed over, without the Court of Directors having advice of some furious squabbles for power, having taken place at some one, or at all, their settlements in India. If they approve the conduct of one party, and enforce their measures by new orders, before those orders arrive, power has changed hands, and the principles they approve, no longer are pursued. All that the former majority had done, has, by the present reigning party, been overset; and instead of obeying the orders, in reverting back to the politics of their predecessors, as commanded to do by their masters, they sit down to defend and recommend their own. This induces warm expostulation from the Directors at home, which, on its arrival in India,

India, finds matters quite changed. Some of the culprits have escaped home; or a new party has been formed, who act on new schemes and plans of their own. Hence all the feuds, animosities, and distractions, in the conduct of their affairs, which begun with their territorial acquisitions, and rages yet. To this impolitic system, we owe the war with Cossim Ally Cawn in 1763, which called abroad Lord Clive, the imprisonment of Lord Pigot, the making a cypher of Mr. Hastings for two years in the government of Bengal, and the lessening of him in the opinions of all the great powers in India. To this rotten source, and a similar contest amongst the Presidencies themselves, we must look for the causes of the present Mahratta and Carnatic war. It would be needless to go on in citing instances in proof, the Company's records contain nothing else. In Lord Pigot's first government, he had, by his address, acquired this necessary influence, and under it made such prudent preparations to receive General Lally at the siege of Madrafs, without which, the gallantry of Lawrence, Draper, Monson, and their brave garrison, could not have saved the town.

IN 1759, Colonel Clive foreseeing that if the French were not dispossessed of the Port of Masulipatam, and their influence in the northern Circars destroyed, Pondicherry could not be reduced, as from the above places, they drew constantly great supplies,

supplies, in grain and money, he formed an army at Bengal for that purpose, and sent it to the coast under Colonel Ford, who did the business completely, and Pondicherry being deprived of its last resources, was reduced the next year.

THIS necessary and spirited measure, was opposed by every Member of the Council; and had we then had a less determined and less vigorous Governor, or a man who was to be intimidated by the whimperings and snivellings of the inhabitants, a party in the government might have over-ruled him.

WHILST Colonel Ford and his army, were away on the above great point of duty, the Dutch troops from Batavia, came into the river of Bengal, with numbers more than double to those we had in the European line for the defence of Fort William, exclusive of 800 Mallays. Clive's spirit was too great to run into the garrison, before he tried his fortune in the field. At this critical moment, it came to be known that the Nabob, a creature of our own making, stimulated by his minister, Nund-comar, had invited the Dutch to invade the country, in hopes of counterbalancing the English power. His son, a suspicious character, lay encamped with 8000 men on the plains of Plassey. Clive sent him a positive order at his peril, not to move from where he lay. Colonel Ford returned at

at this instant, but without his troops. Colonel Clive dispatched him with three battalions of Seapoys, and what Europeans he could muster, over the river, with orders to throw himself between the Dutch troops from Batavia, and those who were marching from Chinsura to join them. When this was effected, Ford saw that immediate action was inevitable: but there being no national war with the Dutch, and Fort William within one hour's distance, he wrote to Colonel Clive for an order of Governor and Council, to attack them. Clive, who was sitting in a mixed Company, read the note with his usual composure, and without saying a word, or moving from his seat, took a pencil from his pocket, and wrote on the margin of the letter, the following words:

“Dear Ford,

“Fight them directly: I will send you an order of Council by and by.

“Yours,

“R. C.”

And then delivered it to the orderly serjeant, and bid him send it back to Colonel Ford, as fast as possible.

But Clive and Chatham were stars of such resplendent magnitude, that their actions, I fear, operate rather as exceptions to the general conduct

of

of mankind, than as spurs to the imitation of them.

The constitution of the East India Company, is by no means defective in its principles; but every way equal to the conducting of their affairs in Asia. And it is astonishing to observe, that instead of confiding the necessary power in the hands of one man, whom, after more than twenty years services, and innumerable instances of his abilities and integrity, they have appointed to carry on their affairs as Governor, yet leave responsibility to be scrambled for, and obtained, by a set of younger servants, headed by a desperado, who, having some interesting point to carry for himself, when that is obtained, cares not sixpence for the master, or their servants: I need not travel out of your Committee, Sir, to seek damning proofs of this assertion; but I mean not here to instance the late situation of Mr. Hastings in particular. The observation takes in the whole scope of the Company's service, past and to come, as long as things remain as they are. Mr. Hornby, the present Governor of Bombay, has served the Company near forty years; the two next in rank to him, have been in the service above thirty. Is there any man who does not reason on the principle, that interest is the test of merit, but what would prefer giving the succession to the government to one of those, with an influence, that by making him responsible, involved his own character,

racter, and made the good of the Company, and the preservation of that character, one and the same object? At such a certainty, the Company would know in whose abilities they had placed confidence; whose measures, or whose conduct it was, that they had before them to decide on; and if they found such a confidential servant, acting contrary to their interest, they could instantly remove him, and benefit from the severity of their own justice, by its operating *in terrorem*, on the mind of his successor. Such a man, knowing that he alone was accountable for any deviation from the orders and rules of the service, would reason much; and having no opposition to his will, to rouse and set his passions in motion, to disturb or destroy his reasoning faculties, his actions would be directed by sound un-irritated judgment. The minds of the other members of the board, as well as those of the younger servants, and inhabitants at large, would be free from party squabbles, and at peace. What is it that the Company or the state would risk, by trying of such an experiment, that is not risked now? Have we not recent instances to prove, that the removing of whole sets of servants, goes only to the effects, without touching the cause? Would Hyder Ally have dared to have entered the Carnatic, but from conviction, that the sinews of government had been so relaxed by party and faction, that no spring of action remained? When men can lean on the opinion of others, in justification of their

their own; the best curb on the actions of man, the fear of shame, is taken away.

A GOVERNOR of Bengal (I will instance Mr. Hastings) who has been trained up from a boy in the service, used to the manners and customs of the natives, and by long habit, easy in admitting, and bearing his part in them, wants no go-betweens, for carrying on the current affairs of government. Information is brought him, that an Ambassador is arrived at Calcutta, from some great Prince, perhaps the Nizam, or Subah, of the Deccan; he fixes the day for giving him an audience; but secretly instructs a confidential officer of the country government, to wait on him privately in his name, tendering him every kind of civility and respect, and at the same time to draw from his servants and dependents, as well as by his own observations, what is the true character of the agent, his connections, and his influence at the court from whence he came. So prepared, he receives the representative of the Prince, with all those little niceties and observations, which are necessary to an interview with an Asiatic Ambassador, the confidence of whose master you wish to obtain.

His nazier, or complimentary present of a few pieces of money, is received with a politeness and ease, which can only be learnt by long and constant usage; and not rudely refused, on a strained and

and contemptible construction of an English Act of Parliament, forbidding the receipt of corrupt presents, as we have seen was done by men of pretended virtue, who, at the same time, were using means to do away a man's life, by giving false information.

The Ambassador's passions are attacked by honest, not *crooked policy*; his vanity is warmed and fed, by the kindness and politeness of the great English Chief. His admiration is called forth, at hearing his master's power and good qualities, complimented in the purest diction of the language spoken at his own court. At going away, beetle* is presented to him by the Governor, in a manner so captivating, as to make a complete conquest of the man's good opinion. Ceremony over in one or two private audiences, the Governor, by his familiarity and condescension, makes the man write what he pleases to his Prince, as far as it relates to his respect for, and perfect good intention towards him.

*The delicacy of Asiatic manners, has established a custom of presenting beetle-nut, with the leaf, some cardamums, and a small portion of pure lime, made of sea shells, all mixed together, and ready for use, given only by a superior to an inferior, on their going away. The calling for this (bribe, as our immaculate triumvirate would term it) signifies to the visitant, that he has permission to withdraw, or that his time of audience is over.

The

THE Governor then dictates, or writes himself, a letter in the Persian language, couched in the most elegant terms of compliment used in Asia, and with it sends a plan of a treaty, which he wishes may take place between the Prince and the Company; and this he sends by trusty messengers, whose ability and fidelity, long practice has taught him to distinguish, ordering them to wait at court for an answer, promising a suitable reward for dispatch on their return, when the answer is delivered to them.

At length the courier returns, and the proposals being accepted, the executive branch of the government has done its duty. In this stage of the business, the Governor lays the papers before his Council, with a minute, setting forth his reasons for desiring their concurrence in the measure proposed; when up gets one of the Majority, moves to put a negative on it, and it is carried against the Governor, by the casting vote of a Clerk from the War-Office, who knows no distinction of character, between Europeans and Asiatics, except that of a black man and a white man, or, as the common people of that country have it, a turban wearer or a hat wearer.

THE Governor, disappointed, makes the best of it that he can with the Prince, and his Ambassador. But the evil does not stop here. The Ambassador is sent for in private, on the supposition that the Governor

Governor has some secret negotiation with him, tending to his own emolument; and the man is given to understand, what he is obliged to believe, that the Governor General has, in fact, no power; and in consequence, he writes to his court, that whatever business is to be done at Fort William, must first meet the approbation of men, who, taking all their information from others, were suspicious, diffident, and slow, and that the plan proposed by the Governor, was at an end. In one of those nocturnal interviews, it was that a linguist was pressed by Mr. Francis, to explain to the Ambassador what a great man he was, and being at a loss for a proper comparison to illustrate his power, desired the man to describe him as being *the fifth part of a King*.

SUCH, Sir, have been, and perhaps now are, the consequences of appointing a man to a station of high responsibility, from whose capacity much good is expected, at the moment his power is totally done away. Is it not better to recall such a person, than to leave him in a situation to be personally insulted, and see his station degraded? Or is a simple recall from his station too mild, that he is subjected to severe and cruel insinuations, by which he stands condemned by implication, from a quarter out of the reach of justice, and denied the birth-right of the most common Englishman, a trial by his peers? If these, Sir, are your ideas

ideas of justice, you neither speak nor write the language of your heart.

MEN, the least acquainted with public affairs, know that all the political business of the world, is done by the few. On a select cabinet council, and sometimes on a single minister, depends all the external and internal political affairs of this vast empire. The proprietors of all great companies choose directors, the directors form committees, and the committees choose a select committee; and even this rectified essence of human knowledge, lodge an almost unlimited power, in the hands of the chairman and deputy chairman; so unequal are all large bodies to the necessary secrecy and dispatch in political matters; that even liberty calls tyranny to her aid, in support of her most important concerns. With committees of your house, it is the same as with all other committees; when the ballot is over, some active member, conversant in the business they have in hand, is called to the chair; a few other members join him, from a love of business, a desire to initiate themselves in parliamentary duty, or some incidental local knowledge in the matter of enquiry; the rest are in general mere comers and goers, hear the evidence partially, seldom read, or attend to the reading, such volumes of dry manuscript, but snatch their intelligence of how the matter goes, just like other sons of curiosity lounging in the lobby.

THE

THE chairman, and the willing drudge; who; fond of literary fame, holds the sometimes too partial pen, become the oracles of the committee; the other predatory, half informed stragglers, take up the sentiments of their high priest, from broken sentences, shrugs, and nods, adopt them for their own, and become as tenacious of the doctrine, as noviciates in a college of Jesuits in days of yore.

To some such cause, and not to a conviction of their understanding, we owe the extraordinary doctrine inculcated in the part of the Report now under consideration; and I rest assured, that they will not at all be displeased with me, for putting them in a way to rectify the great wrong they have inadvertently done to an innocent and absent fellow subject.

By turning to the former and present Report of their Committee, they may discover by what gradual, and almost imperceptible degrees, their Chairman, and his assistants, have led them off from the true scent of judicial investigation, into the wilds of politics, where having inflamed their passions, he is plunging them up to their ears in error, and making cats-paws of them, to gratify his private spleen to individuals. Compare his inveterate speeches in Leadenhall Street, against the Chairman of the Court of Directors, and the Governor General of Bengal, and then let their judgments determine,

determine, what his motives have been for inducing the Committee to sanctify with their approbation, the extraordinary implications, sent into every corner of the kingdom, that Mr. Hastings, by policy, brought about the destruction of Nundcomar to save himself.

I beg to draw the particular attention of the Committee, and of the House, to the following facts. To No. 3 of the Appendix I refer them, for the general character of Maha Rajah Nundcomar. To No. 1 of the Appendix, for the sentiments of General Clavering, Colonel Monson, and Mr. Francis, on the character and conduct of the Governor General, from their arrival in October, 1774, to the 11th of March, 1775; on which day Mr. Francis introduced Nundcomar into the council room, to charge Mr. Hastings with mal-administration.

I would ask whether it does not plainly appear, that the Majority having pledged themselves (by every foregoing ship of the season) in the most solemn manner to the Company, and to the Ministry, that they would follow up their charges with proof, and that finding that the time of sailing of the last ship drew very near, and that nothing had been done in support of those charges, they were obliged to play the last dreadful game, and bring forward Nundcomar, who had been employed by the mi-

nister of the Majority some time before, in procuring forged papers against two members of the former administration, on which his son-in-law, and others his abettors, had been convicted of a conspiracy?

How comes it that this confidential friend of theirs, held back his charges from October to March, before he gave them up?

Does not this long holding back such important information of matters, said to have happened so long before his new friends arrived in the country, in such a man as Nundcomar, press home on the mind a conviction, that his fertile genius fabricated this intelligence, just in the nick of time when the Majority wanted it ;*

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Letter to the Court of Directors.

* "Calcutta, 24th of March, 1775."

"On the 11th instant, a letter was delivered into the board, from
 "Maha Rajah Nundcomar, wherein he charges the Governor-General with sundry malversations in the course of his administration,
 "as president of the late government, and with having received several sums of money from Munney Begum, and from himself,
 "for favours bestowed on them through his influence: A copy of
 "this charge was ordered to be delivered to the Governor immediately.

("Signed)

"J. CLAVERING.

"G. MONSON.

"P. FRANCIS."

Who

men who had already gone so far in their charges against Mr. Hastings, as to have pledged their honour, and all that was dear to them, over head and ears to make them good, would refuse any assistance to be had? Did they not follow up this by the most positive declarations, that they failed only in their proofs, by the man's being politically taken off? when it appears from the above detail of circumstances, which they cannot overset, that the man lost his life, by their preventing his compromising the matter, by refunding the money, and satisfying the greedy lawyer. Would a little money laid out

Who shall deny, that knows the Rajah's true character, that he was concerned in forging all sorts of papers (that suited his purpose) during a long life; and comparing that circumstance with the necessity the Majority was in for some shew of proof, of the numerous assertions transmitted to the Company of Mr. Hastings's rapacity, but that this matter was brought forward very opportunely for their designs? Besides this, there is a circumstance which strikes very forcibly on the mind, which is, that on the self-same day that the Majority was writing home the above account to the Company, their confidential friend, Mr. Farrer, the lawyer, was endeavouring to get into his hands, the forged papers belonging to the banker's estate. Must we believe that all these concurring circumstances, which point out so very strongly, some deep conspiracy against the Governor, happened by mere accident? and at the same time believe on their bare words, without their offering one single circumstance in proof of it, that Mr. Hastings concerned himself at all about the banker's papers, or the Rajah's forgery? I shall be curious to know whether this honest knot of friends will meet as usual in the Speaker's chamber, to go on with questioning one another, when they must know, that every Member of the House of Commons, will have seen or heard of this truth-speaking pamphlet, which they must refuse, or hide their heads.

on the sure side, have been worse bestowed, than the immense sums he squandered, in trying to save himself by a scene of perjury, bribery, and subornation, that is not to be paralleled in the annals of time? Well is it for the surviving parties concerned in that blood selling affair, that they have to do with a man so free from spleen as Mr. Hastings is; was he actuated by the vindictive inveteracy of Mr. Francis, and was only to desire the son and son-in-law of the Rajah, to give in a list of the money distributed, and to whom, from the first commitment of their father, to the hour of his death, such a scene of iniquity would be laid open, as would shock humanity; but that is no part of his character; if the forgiveness of enemies is the first Christian virtue, he is the greatest practiser of that virtue now existing.

THAT the Majority should endeavour, by all their art and power, to induce the people of this country to believe such unfounded stories, is not to be wondered at; but that a Committee of the House of Commons, should, on the parole evidence of a single individual, simply saying, that many people thought it a political affair, adopt and lay that abominable policy to the account of the Judges, and the Governor General, by pointed implication, without the shadow of a proof, is terrible indeed.

MR.

Mr. Francis, not content with taking every opportunity for six years together, of crowding the India House with continual fallacious accounts of the dismal situation of the Company's affairs abroad, furnishing his agents here with myriads of lying squibs for the daily papers, and overloading with pamphlets, that common sink of filth and fiction, the shop of Almon and Debrett, in Piccadilly, but has had the temerity, or good fortune, which you please, to have his crude absurdities held up to national view, in the sacred records of Parliament.

As his production, No. 7 in the Appendix to the Report, is made up of shreds and fragments from his former cuttings out, as well as a great deal of guess work, the Devil, his master, must certainly have determined his shame, or he would have allowed him the usual privilege of common fibsters, of being sometimes right by chance. I have neither time nor space, at this juncture, to take up that curious salt water composition, but pledge myself, if I hear more of him, to shew how prodigiously unlucky he has been, from one end to the other of it.

SOME of our national wits have observed, that the people of this country are never better pleased, than when they are told how near their public affairs are to ruin and destruction. Mr. Francis has served full seven years to the trade, shewn great industry,
strong

strong abilities, and unconquerable perseverance; but at this time, I own, I am against his being permitted to go on, as the wolf is most certainly coming from the direct opposite quarter.

WHEN Colonel Monson died, every body thought that Mr. Hastings would have made a sweep in all the offices, and replaced his injured friends; but that is not the characteristic of the man; the enemy disarmed, the Governor, if they pleased, becomes their friend. Two instances, and those such as was necessary to recover his influence with the country powers, were all the changes he made. Yet so prodigiously ungrateful are some men, that they neither forget or forgive the injuries done by themselves. There are people now in England, who, by the mere lenity of the Governor General, continued years in office after the above period, and perfected the fortunes they are now enjoying, endeavour to swell themselves into consequence, by spitting their venom, in traducing the character of that uncommonly disinterested man; these gentlemen will take fire at seeing their captain so scourged.

"But a knave's a knave to me in every State;

"Alike my scorn, if he succeed or fail,

"Francis at court, or Lacan in a jail."

I SHALL say a few words more relative to the influence that popular prejudices have on the minds

of

of the people of Asia, not unworthy the notice of the legislature, if they really have in contemplation, once more to cobble and botch a constitution, found and vigorous enough to work out its own salvation, if no more quacks, such as Mr. Francis, are sent to try their nostrums, by way of experiment. In short, if the executive power shall be entrusted with the influence, that some faction always hath taken every thing, may be hoped for: "Try conciliatory measures," is a phrase, Sir, which you, *whilom*, were extremely fond of. I hope your principles have not been injured from your change of situation. Believe me, the condemning a subject of this country, by any mode, or in any shape, unheard in his own defence, is not a maxim to be found in the laws of the kingdom, whatever it may be in the Inquisition, or at St. Omer's; and the punishing a man, in order to the compelling of his successors to act up to your notion of what is right, carries something so diabolical in the very idea of it, as would suit the prince of darkness alone to act on.

THE natives of India looked up to Lord Clive as to a being of a superior nature to their own. They have songs in his praise, and traditions handed down from father to son, which they implicitly believe, such as that he had singly and alone, attacked and routed five hundred of the enemy, that he was invulnerable, &c. &c. This truly

truly noble Lord's person, they had seen decorated with that precious mark of military virtue and royal approbation, a red ribbon. The title and the ornament, formed but one idea in their minds, and Lord Saib was, in their opinion, the highest appellation of honour, and the ribbon the greatest mark of court favour which possibly could be obtained.

We have seen to what a degraded and abandoned situation the Governor General had been reduced, during the reign of the Majority, who thought of nothing but of calumniating him at home, and disgracing him in the eyes of the Princes of Hindoostan abroad. These facts the reader will find established beyond all cavil, in Appendix No. 1.

Mr. Hastings had but little time allowed him from the death of Colonel Monson, in which to set to rights the Company's deranged affairs, and recover his influence with the country powers, when out comes a red ribbon for General Claverings. The sight of that well known signal of court interest and favour, which the Bengal people had never seen, but on the shoulders of their deity Lord Clive, carried conviction home to the minds of the whole inhabitants of Asia, that the Governor General was a ruined man, and marked off as a sacrifice to the vengeance of his most bitter enemies. In so humiliating a situation, nothing but his innocence could have supported him. The

triumph

triumphs

triumphs of his enemies, were expressed by such manners, and in such language, which none but the souls of cowards could have conceived.

You are now, Sir, of Council to our most gracious Sovereign; never, if you love the honour of Great Britain, advise him to send such a mark of his royal approbation to a junior in rank to his Governor General of Asia. It degrades them too much in the eyes of the people, except a halter and death warrant attends it to hang up the chief; then indeed, the Asiatics will understand the cause, by seeing the effects follow upon it; for with them, Sir, the first power in a state, ushering into the world reports, containing inferences, which imply that a great officer in the government, is so prodigious a villain, as not to be fit to live, the bow-string always accompany them. Have we, Sir, not something yet to learn of those well judging Pagans? But that your Committee is composed of gentlemen who profess the Christian religion, I should think that something charity; for what is life to a feeling mind, when honour is snatched away?

Our good name left, the heart is at ease. Not worldly losses, not misfortunes, defection of friends, the grasp of power, poverty, sickness, nor death itself, can shake the steady mind of him, who, keeping in the upright way, takes virtue for his guide;

guide; that comfort lost, not princes smiles, not all the splendour of superfluous wealth, nor titles high, nor wide domain, can peace restore to him, whose conscience says, my honour's in the dust.

I HAVE entered the lists against a very powerful cabal. You, Sir, are a great politician, a minister of state, an admired orator, and a much read writer. The General is (in his own opinion) a great soldier, has hopes of becoming a statesman in Leadenhall-Street, possesses dispositions to be thought an orator, but having gone late to school, must be content to act an under part, and feed on fame's cast scraps, as full grown scholars use.

Your friend the Bengal Justice, has really great skill in Asiatic learning, much local knowledge of the business in hand, and is withal, no bad penman. Such a triumvirate, assisted by a quibbling lawyer, and cunning clerk, both principal actors in the great tragedy you have alluded to, will certainly produce something in support of your undertaking, and do away the impressions this little book shall make on all unbiassed minds.

If this is not done before the introduction of your next Report into the House, what matchless intrepidity of face shall save your Chairman from feeling a mixture of ridicule and contempt all round him, when the clerk shall read,

“AND

"AND Mr. Francis, late one of the Council
 "General, being again called before your Com-
 "mittee, further said, &c."

YOUR reasons for giving such a turn to the contents of the Report, does not appear in the Report itself; nor, as I can find, in your former Report. The expressions made use of by one of the evidence, "That the execution of Nundcomar, was
 "considered by part of the inhabitants, to be a
 "political measure," will certainly apply to those who had the whole of the civil and military power in their hands, and of whom your friend Mr. Francis was one, better than to the Governor General and the Minority; and possibly, Sir, a majority of those gentlemen, who shall go to the trouble of reading what I have said on the subject, may think my application of it, rather better than yours.

I WILL tell you, Sir, why I hold so lightly a man of your abilities; you possess not the great outlines of a true patriotic character, "consistency in opinion, and uniformity of conduct." In your writings, are to be found sentiments divine, as they relate to the proper means of supporting the wonderful fabric of our pure constitution; but in your greediness to catch popular applause, the rank Republican appears, or you would not have proposed to degrade the Sovereign of this well tempered

tempered state, to a rank with your own footman, by flinting him and his royal progeny, (whom may God take into his keeping, to limited board wages.

I AM in some degree of pain, fearing that you may think my drawing of Mr. Francis (though extremely like the original), to be rather too high coloured; and not unwilling to take the opportunity of paying my court to one of his Majesty's most honourable Privy Council, I shall present you with another likeness, drawn by a much more eminent artist than I can possibly pretend to be. Look, Sir, into the political tracts of Mr. Edmund Burke, where, in "Observations on a late State of the Nation, 4th edition, page 63, line the 10th," you will find these words;

"THE true cause of his drawing so shocking a picture, is no more than this, and it ought rather to claim our pity, than excite our indignation: he finds himself out of power, and this condition is intolerable to him. The same sun which gilds all nature, and exhilarates the whole creation, does not shine on disappointed ambition; it is something that rays out of darkness, and inspires nothing but gloom and melancholy. Men in this deplorable state of mind, find a comfort in spreading the contagion of their spleen: they find an advantage too; for it is a general popular error

“error to imagine the loudest complainers for the
 “public, to be the most anxious for its welfare. If
 “such persons can answer the ends of relief and
 “profit to themselves, they are apt to be careless
 “enough about the means or the consequences.”

SEE, Sir, the advantage of a polished education; you have collected all the powers of the English language into a small focus, and darted them on some being, whom you thought worthy your indignation. I feel as you felt; but having no more learnings, than what could be purchased for sixpence a week, am obliged to use such words and phrases, as I could collect at such an academy. But truth, Sir, is still truth, whether decorated in courtly stile, or in home spun phrase of village jargon. Your picture will suit my frame, as I hope you will allow my picture will yours. Neither are worth preserving, further than to shew to lookers-on, to what unjustifiable lengths the spirit of party, when lighting on a corrupt heart, inflamed by ambition, will carry a human creature.

I am,

Right honourable Sir,

With all due respect,

Thomas's Hotel,

Your most obedient

King's College,

humble Servant,

Borough, April 8,

The AUTHOR.

POSTSCRIPT.

P O S T S C R I P T.

No man can be more sensible than I am, that even my best friends will say, that I have expressed myself too warmly in some parts of this work, and I lament extremely my unhappy turn of mind, which forces me to think otherways. When a man's own moral character is at stake, or that of an absent person, for whose injured honour he feels as much as for his own, what is to be done? There are insinuations in the Report so plain, and pointedly severe, as not to be mistaken, and that from a quarter, as much out of the reach of human justice, as heaven itself, if we could suppose heaven the seat of injustice.

NAMES have, in general, been avoided, because we live in an age so very refined, that old English is deemed brutal.

THE use of initials is contemptible, if the man who uses them, hopes thereby to evade the just rigour of the law, or private resentment. If I have crossed the line of justice in my search after truth, I will no more fly from the laws of my country, than I would desert her colours in the day of battle. The liberty of the press is so necessary to the fundamental freedom of the inhabitants of this happy Island, that the sword of justice cannot better be employed

employed than to guard it ; and the same justice should scourge into order, all those who presumptuously carry it into licentiousness : on this principle I wish to be judged.

If the men whom I have strongly marked; tho' not always named, have not committed the wrong of which I complain, let them make that appear to the nation : when that is done, I pledge myself to appear at the bar of any court of judicature in the kingdom, and abide by the judgment of my peers.

APPENDIX, No. I.

Extracts from a Letter to the Honourable
the Court of Directors, for the affairs of
the Honourable United East India Com-
pany,

Dated Fort William, November 30, 1774.

2 **W**E are sorry to lay before you the reasons
which we think oblige us to address you
in a separate Letter ; and we make it our earnest re-
quest, that you will not only receive those reasons
with candour and indulgence, but that you will
consider the substance of this Letter, with your most
serious attention. The questions which will neces-
sarily arise out of it, and which must become the
subject of your immediate deliberations, are, in
our judgments, so important, that not only the
preservation of your territorial acquisitions in this
country, but perhaps the fate of the British em-
pire in India, may depend upon the decision of
them.

3. THE short time which has elapsed since our
arrival here, has been so totally engrossed by the
first

first forms, and multiplicity of instant business, that it has not been possible for us to possess ourselves of any other particular knowledge of the internal state of these provinces, than that which your Governor General has been pleased to communicate to us.

5. LET us begin with assuring you, that we came into this country, impressed with the highest ideas of the character of our colleagues, and of the wisdom and ability, with which your affairs had been conducted under Mr. Hastings. We came determined, as far as that opportunity could found a determination of future conduct, to unite heartily with him in the support of his administration.

THE trust reposed in us by the legislature, our duty to you, and the consideration of our own personal ease and happiness, did all equally concur in leading us to cultivate the friendship and confidence of our colleagues, and to promote, as much as possible, a general harmony in our councils; yet you will see upon the face of our consultations, that the Majority of the Board have already resolved on some measures of the greatest importance, in direct contradiction to the opinion of your Governor General, and that this difference of opinion, has been attended with dispute and altercation between us.

73. In short, gentlemen, if the true condition of your government here, has hitherto been concealed from you, and from the nation, it is high time you should be undeceived. The *summa rerum* is at stake.

74. In reviewing this long Letter, we fear that you will perceive upon the face of it, many marks of an hasty inaccurate composition; and we wish that the time would permit us to make it more methodical and correct. As for the authenticity of facts, and the substance of the inferences deduced from them, we desire it may be understood, that we willingly pledge our honour, and every thing that can be dear to honest men, for the truth and exactness of this representation, as far as it reaches, of the state of your affairs.

We have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed) J. CLAVERING.

GEO. MONSON.

P. FRANCIS.

Extracts from another Letter, dated 1st of
December, 1774.

THE fatal differences which have arisen almost immediately upon our arrival here, between our colleagues and us, will naturally alarm the Court of Directors. All the observations we shall make upon them here, is, that they arose from the new and unexpected state of things, not from any personal dislike, or cause of any offence on either side. At the same time it is absolutely necessary you should be apprised, that we are very apprehensive, that these unhappy differences will not be confined to a single object.

WE fear, that besides the political, they will extend to other important branches of administration. We wait the decision of the Court of Directors, upon the great points now before them; and we hope that in justice to all parties, it will be clear, precise, and peremptory; and that such a line will be drawn for our future guidance, as will leave no possibility of doubt or mistake hereafter.

FRANCIS. We have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed) J. CLAVERING:
GEO. MONSON.
P. FRANCIS.

Extracts of a Minute of General Clavering, Colonel Monson, and Mr. Francis, dated the 11th of January, 1775, to the Court of Directors.

23. **I**F the charges of a personal failure in the respect due to Mr. Hastings, had had any foundation whatsoever, we think it ought not to have been described by so gross a term, as that of a *warfare of scurrility*. The expressions to which he himself applies and confines that description, are on record, and referred to by himself. Our superiors will judge whether they have a reference to the public measures of the late administration, or personally to Mr. Hastings; and whether, supposing them to be directed against measures only, they were, or could be, too strong for the occasion.

37. **O**N this everlasting theme of Mr. Hastings, we shall only for the present observe in general, that under any tolerable form of government, the effects of the famine must long since have ceased to be felt in a country, where nature asks nothing of the governing power, but not to study to resist and defeat her operations. The world will soon see, that it is oppression of the most violent and pernicious nature, which has reduced this fertile country to a state of depopulation.

73. If we had leisure or inclination to enter into details of an inferior importance, we are very sure, that there is hardly a line of the Governor General's addresses to the Court of Directors, in which we might not easily detect and prove, some inaccuracy in matter of fact, or contradiction in argument. We decline the weary task, not only because we think it unworthy of us, but as it is really in itself unnecessary. Facts of a transcendent magnitude ought to engross our attention : when once they are established beyond contradiction, they include the probability of inferior abuses, and at the same time make it superfluous, to push that probability into proof.

75. The true condition of this country, cannot long be concealed. Effects will be felt before they are accounted for. When that happens, we foresee no difficulty in determining by what means, and by whose misconduct, a rich and flourishing state is reduced to the hazard, at least, of beggary and ruin. The great and alarming question will be, by whose future services, and by what future exertion of virtue and ability, such a state can be recovered ? Common men are not equal to the occasion.

(Signed) J. CLAVERING.

GEO. MONSON:

P. FRANCIS:

Extracts

Extracts of a Minute, No. 1, from General Clavering, Colonel Monson, and Mr. Francis, dated Fort William, the 25th of February, 1775.

3. **W**E mean also to convince the Governor, that in some material instances, he has concluded hastily on groundless suppositions. In short, since we have not had the good fortune to succeed in our attempts to satisfy him of the impropriety of his conduct and opinions, by the mode of argument which we have hitherto made use of, we shall endeavour to obviate all further difficulties on this head, by appealing to authorities which he cannot dispute, or by setting some of his own declared opinions, or positive assertions, in a clear and direct opposition to each other.

61. **S**UPPORTED in our opinion of the late misgovernment of this country, by so high an authority as that of Parliament, and confirmed in it by our own immediate observation and experience, we do not hesitate to declare to Mr. Hastings, that he cannot offer us a stronger presumptive proof of the weakness, impropriety, or depravity of any political principle, or public measure whatsoever, than by telling us it was adopted by the late administration,

(Signed) J. CLAVERING.
GEO. MONSON,
P. FRANCIS.

Dated

Dated as before.

WE condemn the political measures of the late administration, as not only defective on the score of justice and expediency, but as involving this government in an endless train of difficulties and contradictions, for want of the necessary foundation of some uniform and simple principle of policy. It appears to us, that the late President and Council, in their transactions with the country powers, have adhered to no one system whatsoever. They in fact, acknowledge the sovereignty of Shaw Allum, by coining money in his name, and by collecting and appropriating the revenues of these provinces under his grant; yet they withhold his tribute, and sell his country to the Vizier, who, either as Vizier, or Subah of Oude, is no more than a great officer of the empire, and removable at the Emperor's pleasure. Our opinions with respect to the succession to Sujah Dowlah, are fully stated in the secret consultation of the 13th instant.

(Signed)

J. CLAVERING:

GEO. MONSON;

P. FRANCIS.

Extract

Extract of a Minute from General Clavering,

Colonel Monson, and Mr. Francis, dated
Fort William, the 21st of March, 1775.

THE present system evidently leads to depopulation and loss of revenue. In the course of three years more, we think it much to be apprehended, that the continued operation of this system, will have reduced the country in general to such a state of ruin and decay, as no future alteration will be sufficient to retrieve.

(Signed) J. CLAVERING.

GEO. MONSON,

P. FRANCIS,

Extract of a Letter from the Governor
General and Council, at Fort William, in
their secret department, to the Court of
Directors, dated 24th of March, 1775.

16. ON the 11th instant, a letter was delivered into the Board, from Maha Rajah Nund-comar, wherein he charges the Governor-General with sundry malversations in the course of his administration, as President of the late government, and with having received several sums of money from **Munir Begum**, and from himself, for favours bestowed on them through his influence. A

Minute

copy

copy of this charge was ordered to be delivered to the Governor General-immediately.

2. BUT in what manner is it really our duty to act? Are we to suffer the Company to continue unacquainted with their situation, and let the storm gather till it bursts, or are we to take upon us, the immediate odium of discovering to them the real difficulties in which their affairs are involved, and the imminent danger with which they are threatened? In this apparent alternative, we think that the consideration of our own personal honour, personal safety, and above all things, of our real duty to the Company, leave us no choice.

3. WHEN we refer to the consideration of our personal safety, we mean to establish our immediate claim to one general vindication of ourselves against all consequences, that when the present administration took the government upon them, almost every natural resource of the country was already exhausted. As to the effect which any present discovery of the truth may produce at home, we can only say, that the distresses we allude to are so instant, that no artifice whatever on one side, nor tacit acquiescence on the other, could possibly conceal them much longer from the public view.

(Signed) J. CLAVERING.
GEO. MONSON.
P. FRANCIS.

Minute

Minute from General Clavering, Colonel
Monson, and Mr. Francis, dated Fort
William, the 11th of April, 1775.

MAHA Rajah Nundcomar, whom the Governor calls a *miscreant*, we found had been but a very little time before his bosom friend, consulted on all occasions, and supported by him, against the united protest of Messrs. Graham, Lawrell, and Dacres, who were closely connected with Mahommed Reza Cawn, although the Governor knew him to have been (as he now says) guilty of a forgery. We have reason to suspect, that the intention was to make him Banyan to General Clavering, to surround the General and us with the Governor's creatures, and to keep us totally unacquainted with the real state of the government. By this, and other flimsy devices, so consonant to the principles of Asiatic policy, in which the Governor General has been so long exercised, he probably flattered himself, that men, unpractised in such arts, might be perplexed and circumvented.

NUNDCOMAR finding himself deceived, or disappointed, by the Governor General, soon made use of the means which his intimacy with the Governor had put into his power, to gratify his resentment.

Whatever might have been his motives, his discoveries have thrown a clear light upon the honourable Governor General's conduct, and the means he had taken of making the very large fortune he is said to possess, of upwards of forty lacks of rupees, which he must have amassed in about two years and a half.

M AHARAJA Nundomar, whom the not call a miscreant, we found had been but a very little time before his solemn friend, consulted on all occasions, and supported by him, against the united protest of Messrs. Graham, Lawell, and Dacres, who were closely connected with Mahomed Reza Khan, although the Governor knew him to have been (as he now says) guilty of a forgery. We have reason to suspect, that the intention was to make him Bayan to General Clavering, to surround the General and us with the Governor's creatures, and to keep us totally unacquainted with the real state of the government. By this and other timely devices, to conform to the principles of Asiatic policy, in which the Governor General has been so long exercised, he probably flattered himself, that men, unpractised in such arts, might be perplexed and circumvented.

Nundomar finding himself deceived, or disappointed, by the Governor General, soon made use of the means which his intimacy with the Governor had put into his power, to gratify his resentment.

APPENDIX,

APPENDIX, No. II.

Remarks on a Letter written by General Clavering, Colonel Monson, and Mr. Francis, to the honourable Court of Directors, dated November 30th, 1774.

THE solemn asseveration at the close of this address, as it contains no argument, requires no answer, and should pass unnoticed by me, if it were not that such a positive pledge of their honour, and every thing that can be dear “to honest men,” may sway with many in opposition to all reasoning; and I must confess it appears to me, to be introduced with a view to this effect. I must, therefore, express the surprize I feel, that the gentlemen should hazard so sacred a pledge upon the truth of facts, so various and unascertained, that it is impossible for human reason to decide on many of them; much less for these gentlemen, to whom the subjects were entirely new, to receive, in so short a time, such information, as they could affirm, upon a pledge of honour, to be truth, and in effect it will appear from the above remarks, that they actually have been mistaken in many of the *facts and inferences,*

inferences, which relate to the state of the Company's affairs. For myself I will declare, that, with certainly a fuller knowledge of the circumstances than they can possibly have attained, and with as earnest a solicitude to abide by truth, I will not venture to pledge my honour, that error and mistake, may not have a place in what I have written; but I will make this sacred pledge of my "honour, and every thing that is dear to me as an honest man," that my endeavours, both in my minute of appeal and these remarks, have been to free my conduct, and that of the late administration, from the misrepresentations which have been cast upon them; and, by a fair state of the motives and effects of our measures, to lay the truth before our employers, and enable them to decide with justice, between us and our accusers.

I AM sorry to see the names of Clavering and Monson, subscribed to such unworthy insinuations; because I do not believe that ever the heat of party contention, can have so far warped their minds from the consideration of that justice, which every man of honour will yield to the honour of others, as to make them really believe me capable of so base an artifice as they have imputed to me, without the slightest grounds to support it.—I will not answer it.

(Signed) WARREN HASTINGS.

will appear from the above remarks, that they ac-

usually have been mistaken in many of the facts and

Remarks

Remarks on the Second and Third Minutè
of General Clavering, Colonel Monson,
and Mr. Francis, dated January the 11th,
1775.

3. **I**N this, as in many other paragraphs, here are
very alarming intimations ; but although the
gentlemen of the Majority, see a *certainity* of instant
distresses, they do not particularize them for your
information ; when this is done, I shall submit to
you my sentiments upon them. In the mean time,
I hope this mysterious mode of writing, will not
be productive of any ill consequence at home : It
certainly has such a tendency.

THE gentlemen, in different parts of their
writings, seem to blame me for stopping the pay-
ment of the King's tribute : on the other hand, had
I paid it, I suppose, from the preceding para-
graph, that I should have been charged with shar-
ing in it.

It is an undoubted truth, that the state of the
Company at the time in which these measures were
adopted, was distressed both at home and abroad :
It shall be incontestibly shewn, " That their pre-
sent condition is prosperous and flourishing."
The means by which this sudden alteration has
been effected, have been repeatedly and fully shewn.

It

It may suffice here to say, that it has been principally occasioned by the acquisition of money from the Nabob Sujah ul Dowlah, and the reductions made in the Company's expences in Bengal.

I have the honour to be,

With the greatest respect,

Honourable Sirs,

Your most faithful and obedient

Humble Servant,

WARREN HASTINGS.

Minute of the Governor General, dated
the 22d of February, 1775.

I Have been so much straitened for time, that I know not whether I ought to bespeak your pardon for the incorrectness of this address. I have endeavoured to keep it within as small a compass as the design of it would admit. Many passages and entire paragraphs of the Minutes of the Majority, I have passed without a reply, either because they contained nothing which required a reply, or because the language was too harsh, and the reflections too personal, to deserve one. These were the studied and deliberate production of the closet; and from these you will judge of the temper which

which is to regulate your interests in this difficult and extensive government, in the long interval which must elapse, before your orders can apply the decisive remedy to the disorders inevitably resulting from it. My situation is truly painful and mortifying. Deprived of the powers with which I have been invested by a solemn act of the legislature, ratifying your choice of me to fill the first office in this administration; denied the respect which is due to my station and character; denied even the rights of personal civility, by men with whom I am compelled to associate in the daily course of official business, and condemned to bear my share in the responsibility of measures which I do not approve, I should long since have yielded up my place in this disgraceful scene, did not my ideas of my duty to you, and a confidence in your justice, animate me to persevere; and if your records must be dishonoured, and your interests suspended, by the continuance of such contests as have hitherto composed the business of the present council, it shall be my care to bear as small a part in them as possible, making the line of my duty exempt from every personal consideration, in this, as in every other concern incident to my station, the sole guide of my conduct, if I can.

(Signed) WARREN HASTINGS.

Extracts

Extracts from the Governor General's
Address to the Court of Directors, by
the Ship Anson, dated Fort William,
March the 25th, 1775.

THE various and accumulated attacks which
have been made upon me by my adversaries,
exceed my abilities, and the narrow compass of
my time, to repel them by that circumstantial
mode of defence, which I have made use of in my
former addresses.

THE first acts of the Majority manifestly shew,
that their aim was, either by continual provo-
cations, to induce me to throw up my seat, and
leave them the sole uncontroled masters of this
valuable State, or, by annihilating my present in-
fluence, to render me a cypher in it; and by mis-
representing the measure of my former administra-
tion, as universally tending, and even systemati-
cally calculated, for the ruin of your interests, and
the national honour, in this country, to effect my
removal by a superior and legal authority.

THE ruling principle, and spring of all their ac-
tions, is fairly, but rather unguardedly, explained,
in their first letter of appeal, in the declaration,
“ That the justification of their conduct, must of
L necessity

" necessity carry with it, and could only be supported, by a strong and deliberate censure of the " preceding administration." I have admitted the truth of this proposition, in the application of it to such of their measures, as are directly contradictory of those of the preceding administration; but I will not allow it to be either just or fair applied to measures, with which these have no relation; but it is a powerful, though trite policy, to which the unthinking part of the world, have too often been the dupes. To such let them address themselves; I trust that my cause will be decided by other judges.

THOSE relating to the allegations of Rajah Nund-comar, have been committed to the hands of your attorney, for the purpose of commencing a suit at law against me, in the name of the Company, for the recovery of the sums said to have been received by me from Munny Begum, in the year 1772. I reserve my defence for the same channel, not choosing to give my adversaries an advantage, by anticipating it, nor to bespeak your premature judgment, on a cause thus depending. I do not mean to restrict myself solely to this mode of defence; let the laws have their effect; and I am willing, and shall be proud to submit, all my transactions, of what nature soever, to your justice, in any way or form that you shall prescribe. In the meantime, I beg that you will suspend your opinion upon my conduct,

conduct, except on those parts of it, on which you have complete materials to decide, and on which your earliest decision is required. In this decision, the conduct of my opponents must necessarily be involved.

A COMBINED and declared majority of the Council, have stood forth as my accusers. I appeal for the truth of this assertion, to the whole tenor of their conduct since their arrival in this country, and to the undoubted evidences which appear on the public records of the last fifteen days consultations, that these gentlemen are themselves parties, if not the principals, as in my heart I believe them to be, and such the world esteems them, and the Ranny of Burdwan, and Rajah Nundcomar, little more than instruments and ostensible agents, in the accusations preferred by them against me.

As little do I judge it consistent with my own honour, or your interest, to suffer the first member of this state, to be personally arraigned at the Council Board, and exposed to the insolence and calumnies, of a miscreant like Nundcomar. Had the Majority been disposed to accept of my proposition, of appointing a committee for prosecuting their enquiries, either into these, or the Ranny's allegations, they might have obtained the same knowledge, and all the satisfaction, in this way, that they could have expected from an inquisition

taken by the Board at large; their proceedings would have had the appearance at least of regularity, and my credit would have been less affected by them. The only point which they could possibly gain by persisting in bringing such a subject before the Board, was to gain a public triumph over me, and to depose my place and person to insult.

ALTHOUGH I have declined entering at this time and place, into a refutation of the accusations which have been preferred against me, in the names of Nundcomar and the Ranny of Burdwan, yet I do not think it proper to pass them wholly unnoticed.

You are well informed of the reasons which first induced me to give any share of my confidence to Nundcomar, with whose character I was acquainted by an experience of many years. The means which he himself took to acquire it, were peculiar to himself. He sent a messenger to me at Madras, on the first news of my appointment to this Presidency, with pretended letters from Munny Begum, and the Nabob Yetcrum ul Dowlah, the brother of the Nabob Jaffier Ally Cawn, filled with bitter invectives against Mahommed Reza Cawn, and of as warm recommendations, as I recollect, of Nundcomar. I have been since informed by the Begum, that the letter which bore her seal, was a complete forgery, and that she was totally unacquainted with the use which had been made of her name, till informed

formed of it. Juggut Chund, Nundcomar's son-in-law, was sent to her expressly, to intreat her not to divulge it. Mr. Middleton, whom she consulted on the occasion, can attest the truth of this story. I have not yet had the curiosity to enquire of the Nabob Yetcrum ul Dowlah, whether his letter was of the same stamp, but I cannot doubt it.

THE promise which he says I made him, that he should be constituted Aumcem, (that is inquisitor general over the whole country,) and that I would delegate their whole power and influence, is something more than a negative falsehood. He did once or twice intimate to me, a wish of the kind, but with so little success, that for a while he wholly dropt it. On Mr. Reed's return from the coast, where he had been on leave of absence, Nundcomar made his application to him for the same employment, hoping through his influence to obtain it. Mr. Reed, deceived by his suggestions, brought the proposition before the Board, and supported it with warmth, and it was rejected. The manner in which this matter had been introduced, contains striking proofs of the incendiary character of the man, and the proceedings will shew the grounds on which the proposition was rejected.

(Signed) WARREN HASTINGS.

APPENDIX.

APPENDIX, No. III.

N U N D C O M A R.

Letter from the Secret Committee of the
Court of Directors, to Warren Hastings,
Esq. dated the 28th of August, 1771.

S I R,

BY our general address, you will be informed of the reasons we have to be dissatisfied with the administration of Mahommed Reza Cawn, and will perceive the expediency of our divesting him of the rank and influence he holds, as Naib Dewan of the kingdom of Bengal. But though we have declared our resolution in this respect, to our President and Council, yet as the measures to be taken in consequence thereof, might be defeated by that Minister, and all enquiry into his conduct rendered ineffectual, were he to have any previous intimation of our design, we, the Secret Committee, having the most perfect confidence in your judgment, prudence, and integrity, have thought proper to entrust to your especial care, the execution of those measures,

measures, which alone can render the Naib's conduct subject to the effect of a full enquiry, and secure that retribution, which may be due on the detection of any fraud, embezzlement, or collusive practice, in his public or private transactions.

IN order, therefore, to make him amenable to a due course of justice, and to prevent the ill consequences which might result from the resentment and revenge, which he may conceive on the knowledge of our intentions, we hereby direct and enjoin you (immediately on the receipt of this Letter) to issue your private orders, for the securing the person of Mahommed Reza Cawn, together with his whole family, and his known partizans and adherents, and to make use of such measures as your prudence shall suggest, for bringing them down to Calcutta : and it is our pleasure, that they by no means be suffered to quit the place, until Mahommed Reza Cawn shall have exculpated himself from the crimes of which he now stands charged or suspected, or shall have duly accounted for the revenues collected by him in the Chucklah of Dacca, and have made restitution of all sums which he may have appropriated to his own use, either from the Dewannee revenues, or the Nabob's stipends, and until he also shall have satisfied the claims of all such persons, as may have suffered by any act of injustice or oppression, committed by him in the office of Naib Dewan.

As

As the detection of any corrupt practices of which Mahommed Reza Cawn may have been guilty, and the retribution which in such cases is to be required of him, are equally the objects of public justice and the Company's interest, we assure ourselves, that you will sedulously endeavour to penetrate into the most hidden parts of his administration, and discover the reality of the several facts with which he is charged, or the justness of the suspicions we have of his conduct.

In this research, your own judgment will direct you to all such means of information, as may be likely to bring to light, the most secret of his transactions. We, however, cannot forbear recommending to you, to avail yourself of the intelligence which Nundcomar may be able to give, respecting the Naib's administration; and while the envy which Nundcomar is supposed to bear this Ministry, may prompt him to a ready communication of all proceedings which have come to his knowledge, we are persuaded that no scrutable part of the Naib's conduct, can have escaped the watchful eye of his jealous and penetrating rival.

And we cannot doubt but that the abilities and disposition of Nundcomar, may be successfully employed in the investigation of Mahommed Reza Cawn's administration, and bring to light any embezzlement, fraud, or malversation, which he may still have

have committed in the office of Nalb Dewan, or in the station he has held under the several successive Subahs: and while we assure ourselves, that you will make the necessary use of Nundcomar's intelligence, we have such confidence in your wisdom and caution; that we have nothing to fear from any secret motives or designs, which may induce him to detect the mal-administration of one, whose power has been the object of his envy, and whose office the aim of his ambition: for we have the satisfaction to reflect, that you are too well apprised of the subtilty and disposition of Nundcomar, to yield him any trust or authority, which may be turned to his own advantage, and prove detrimental to the Company's interest.

THOUGH we have thought it necessary to intimate to you, how little we are disposed to delegate any power or influence to Nundcomar, yet, should his information and assistance be serviceable to you, in your investigating the conduct of Mahommed Reza Cawn, you will yield him such encouragement and reward, as his trouble and the extent of his services may deserve.

By our general advices we deemed it advisable to mention only, that we had received information of Mahommed Reza Cawn's having increased the calamities of the poor, during the height of famine, by a monopoly of rice, and other necessaries of life.

life. We are, indeed, restrained from an open communication on this subject, fearing the consequences which might ensue from the Minister's revenge, should he learn by whom such accusation had been brought against him; but persuaded, as we are, of your secrecy and discretion, we herewith transmit to you, Extract of a Letter from — to —, wherein Mahommed Reza Cawn is charged with a crime of so atrocious a nature; and we the rather advise you of —'s information, as we rely on your endeavours to obtain full evidence respecting the truth of this allegation, as well as of such others, as are the objects of the scrutiny, we have directed to be made into the Naib's conduct.

SENSIBLE, as you must be, of the importance of the charge thus confidentially committed to you, we shall not seek to animate your zeal for the Company's welfare; but only observe, that, by the effectual execution of the separate trust reposed in you, you will at once render the Company a signal and essential service, and approve yourself worthy of the opinion we have formed of your judgment, prudence, and integrity, and which we have so fully manifested, in selecting you to preside in the administration of the government of Bengal.

London,

We are

August 28th 1771.

Your loving friends, &c.

Extract

Extract of a Letter from Warren Hastings,
Esq. dated at Cossimbuzar, the 1st of
September, 1772.

6. **T**HE same principles guided me, though not uninfluenced by other arguments of great force, in the choice of Munny Begum, the widow of the Nabob Meer Jaffier, and of Rajah Goordass, the son of Maha Rajah Nundcomar ; the former for the chief administration, the latter for the dewanee of the Nabob's household ; both the declared enemies of Mahommed Reza Cawn. To the latter, indeed, I was principally inclined, thro' your commands ; and I hope it will appear, that I have adopted almost the only expedient in which they could be exactly fulfilled. You directed, that " If the assistance and information of Nundcomar, should be serviceable to me, in my investigating the conduct of Mahommed Reza Cawn, " I should yield him such encouragement and reward, as his trouble and the extent of his services may deserve." There is no doubt that Nundcomar is capable of affording me great service, by his information and advice ; but it is on his abilities, and on the activity of his ambition, and hatred to Mahommed Reza Cawn, that I depend for investigating the conduct of the latter, and by eradicating his influence, for confirming the authority, which you have assumed in the administration of the
affairs

affairs of this country. The reward which has been assigned him, will put it fully in his power to answer these expectations, and will be an encouragement to him to exert all his abilities for the accomplishment of them. Had I not been guarded by the caution which you have been pleased to enjoin me, yet my own knowledge of the character of Nundcomar, would have restrained me from yielding him any trust or authority, which could prove detrimental to the Company's interest. He himself has no trust or authority, but in the ascendancy which he naturally possesses over his son. An attempt to abuse the favour which has been shewn him, cannot escape unnoticed, and if detected, may ruin all his hopes. The son is of a disposition very unlike his father; placid, gentle, and without disguise; from him there can be no danger.

7. You will perceive by the records, that this appointment has not taken place without opposition from a majority of the gentlemen who form the committee now at this place. I know not whether you will approve, or disapprove, of the silence which I have observed with respect to your orders, in the arguments which I have used in support of my recommendation: my reason was, that I thought the measure in itself so proper, that I did not doubt of its receiving the confirmation of the Board at large; and unless some material advantage could be gained by it, I did not think myself at liberty

liberty to divulge your secret commands, I am at this time most firmly persuaded, that no other measure whatever would have been likely to prove so effectual, either for promoting the enquiry which you have directed, or giving strength and duration to the new system.

8. I HOPE I shall not appear to assume too much importance in speaking thus much of myself, in justification of the motives which led me to this recommendation, that I had no connexion with Nundcomar, or his family, prior to the receipt of your letter by the Lapwing; that, on the contrary, from the year 1759, to the time when I left Bengal in 1764, I was engaged in a continued opposition to the interests and designs of that man, because I judged them to be adverse to the welfare of my employers; and in the course of this contention, I received sufficient indications of his ill-will, to have made me his irreconcilable enemy, if I could suffer my passions to supersede the duty which I owe to the Company. My support of Nundcomar, on the present occasion, could not therefore proceed from partiality; it will be as obvious, that my preference of him to other competitors, could not arise from interested motives. I may be charged with inconsistency; but the reasons which I have urged in the minutes of the Committee in support of this measure, will, I trust, acquit me to my honourable employers; and if my conduct shall stand

stand the test of their judgment, it is a point of duty to bear with the reproaches of the uninformed part of the world. To the service of the Company, and to your commands, I have sacrificed my own feelings, (pardon the presumption of this repitition,) and I have combated those of others, joined with me in the adminftration of your affairs. I claim your approbation of what I have done, not as a recompense of integrity, but as the confirmation of the authority which you have been pleased to confide in me, and of your own, which is involved in it.

9. I WITH pleasure do justice to the Committee, in declaring, that strenuously as they opposed the measure while it was a point of debate, it had no sooner received the sanction of your Council, than they all concurred with me in supporting both that and the other resolutions which were connected with it, as steadily as if they had never dissented from it.

(Signed) WARREN HASTINGS.

Letter

Letter from Governor Hastings to the Secret
Committee of the Court of Directors for
the Affairs of the Honourable United
East India Company.

Fort William, March 24th, 1774.

GENTLEMEN,

ALTHOUGH the proceedings of the board contain, very minutely recorded, all the measures which were taken for prosecuting the enquiry into the conduct of Mahommed Reza Cawn, and my own sentiments, both in the course and issue of it, are therein inserted at large, yet, as I was originally honoured with your especial commands for conducting this intricate business, I conceive it to be in some measure incumbent upon me to address you on its conclusion, that I may account for any apparent deficiency, by stating the difficulties which I have had to encounter in the discharge of it. I will speak first of that charge which was more particularly the object of your attention and our enquiry; I mean the monopoly of grain.

You will be pleased to recollect that the charge was general, without any specification of time, places, or persons. I had neither witnesses, nor vouchers, nor materials of any sort, to begin with; for these I relied chiefly on the abilities, observation,

observation, and active malignity, of Maha Rajah Nundcomar; but not resting wholly on his aid, I took such other precautions as were most likely to produce informations against Mahomed Reza Cawn, if his conduct had really merited that return from the people of this country. In concurrence with the Committee of Circuit at Cossimbuzar, and with the Council here, I published advertisements, inviting all persons to give information against such as had contributed to the distresses of the country, in the time of the famine, by the monopoly of grain, or any other unfair practices, on the wants and necessities of the people. I allowed all who had any thing to offer on these subjects, to have access to me; and, although I never had much time to spare, I patiently bestowed many hours, and even days, of it, in listening to the multiplied, but indefinite suggestions of Nundcomar. In a word, I omitted no means which were consistent with my character, to bring the truth of this accusation to light.

In the course of the enquiry, I proceeded with the most rigid impartiality, not suffering (I can safely say) the smallest bias to incline me. You will see with what materials I was furnished; I am sorry to say, that some were collected with so little decency and regard to truth, as to make me apprehensive of the effects which they might have

have produced on my character, from the countenance which I afforded to the principal agent in the prosecution, had I not in my own immediate conduct, invariably adhered to the strictest rules of justice. My judgment was formed with the same temper of mind; and I continue in the persuasion, that it will be found perfectly consistent with the evidence before me, which cost me much labour and attention, in the midst of continued interruption, to collect it from the records of near thirty different examinations.

I INFORMED Rajah Huzzoorymul of the reference which you had been pleased to direct me to make to him, for the facts on which his information (a copy of which I received in your commands by the Lapwing) was grounded. He came several times to me, with the express purpose and promise, of entering into a full communication of the subject, and brought with him an old and respectable Merchant of this city, since deceased, who, he said, was equally apprised of these circumstances with himself, to aid him in his informations; but after much timid hesitation, mutual reference, and procrastination, they both at length declined it; nor could I ever obtain the smallest intelligence from either. I should be sorry if this report were to give you an unfavourable opinion of Rajah Huzzoorymul: I can truly affirm, that I know not a man of a more guarded conduct, or a more con-

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scientious integrity. Either the fear of the consequences affecting his character, restrained him from avowing what he knew, or (which I think more likely) he was misled by the clamours of the people, in the information which he originally gave to Mr. Gregory.

WITH respect to the accounts of the Nizamut, and the balance said to be due from Mahommed Reza Cawn, for the collections made by him at Dacca, during the life time of Jaffier Ally Cawn, it was certainly more in the power of Nundcomar, than any other person, to furnish me with the fullest and most authentic state of both. Besides an official and practical knowledge which he possessed of the nature of the former, of which at one time he had the entire management, he had at this time the command of all the accounts of the Nizamut, through the means of his son, Rajah Goordais, who is the Dewan of that office.

He possessed the entire confidence of the Nabob Meer Jaffier, at the time in which Mahommed Reza Cawn was employed as Agent for the Dacca Collections, and had actually entered into a scrutiny of his conduct during the life of that Nabob, which scrutiny produced the balance now appearing against him.

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ALL the accounts on these heads, which I have ever received from Rajah Nundcomar, stand upon record, and they are such as appear more calculated to acquit Mahommed Reza Cawn, than establish any proofs against him. Indeed, he has lately offered to furnish me with very minute accounts of the Dacca Collections, during the period of Mahommed Reza Cawn's agency; but these were not put into my hands until the enquiry was closed, altho' he had taken other indirect means (I know not why) to bring them to the notice of the Board. And as to the Nizamat accounts, although I have used every means, for upwards of ten months past, both with him and his son, which could operate either on their hopes or fears, to obtain them, they were not delivered till the latter end of January last, and were then accompanied with the promise of a separate proof of embezzlement in the article of Exchange, which, after fresh importunity, both from myself and from the Board, was transmitted so late, that it arrived only on the 10th instant: nor did this, more than any other papers furnished by NUNDCOMAR, afford any thing like proofs, but only reiterated charges, without one voucher, or the least aid that might direct us to one.

I AM at a loss to discover the secret spring which governs the mysterious conduct of this man, as I am certain he is impelled by nothing

less than a desire to favour Mahommed Reza Cawn. It might suit well with his private views to procrastinate the issue of the enquiry, although it would be little consistent with the credit or justice of your Administration, to prolong it to a farther period, two years having been already consumed in bringing it to a close on our proceedings. Many attempts, indeed, were made by Nundcomar, both in the course of this affair, and in the examination of Maha Rajah Shitabroy, to obtain a formal commission for making a personal and local inquisition into the accounts of the collections depending on both; but of this I disapproved, knowing that such a power might be converted, and believing that, in his hands, it would be converted, to purposes very detrimental to the revenue, and oppressive to the people: It was proposed to the Board, and by them peremptorily refused.

NOTWITHSTANDING the consciousness which I possess of my own integrity, and the certainty that my conduct, throughout this ungrateful business, will, on the most rigid scrutiny, do me credit, yet I am not without my fears. I am aware of the violent prejudices which were taken up at once against Mahommed Reza Cawn, by all ranks of people, both here and at home. I am also aware, that in England, where the very name of enquiry into the past management of affairs in India, flatters the passion

passion of the times, and raises expectations of great and important detections, the result may baulk those expectations, and turn the torrent of public clamour another way. In many of the private letters which I received from my friends in England, I was warned to act with the greatest caution in this enquiry, as the confirmation of my credit with the public, and, forgive me for adding, with your honourable Court, depended upon it.

THE magnitude of the charges which were alleged against Mahommed Reza Cawn, his reputed wealth, the means which that afforded him both of suppressing evidence, and even of influencing his Judges in his favour, and the natural conclusion deducible from so many exaggerated accusations, that some part of them at least was true, gave additional force to these cautionary intimations, and made me fear for the consequences, not only as they might affect my reputation, which it has been the study of my life to maintain unblemished, but as they might blast all my hopes from the continuation of your favour, which I hold solely on the credit of my integrity.

It is possible that, on a review of the proceedings, you may find some critical circumstances disregarded, some facts of consequence not sufficiently traced through all their connexions or dependent events, by which the truth might have been

been more successfully followed. I can only say, that I have never quitted this prosecution, but for affairs of greater moment; and although I ever bear the most respectful deference for your commands, and have never suffered my zeal to slacken in their execution, yet I must candidly own, that I never gave up a portion of my time to this business, without feeling a painful regret, that so much of it was lost to the care of your real interests; and how much of it I have bestowed on that, your records in the various departments over which I preside, will abundantly testify.

I must declare that I have another motive for my fears; the dark and deceitful character of Nund-comar, whose gratitude no kindness can bias, nor even his own interest disengage him from the crooked politics which have been the study and practice of his whole life. Of this I have had many very extraordinary proofs: I shall instance only two, as most expressive of his ruling character,

BEFORE my departure from Fort St. George, when my appointment to this Presidency was known, a messenger, expressly deputed from Munny Begum, came to me there with Letters from her, intreating my protection in the most earnest terms, both for her house, and for the people of Bengal, against the tyranny of Mahommed Reza Cawn, and referring me for farther information,

tion, to Maha Rajah Nundcomar, from whom I received similar addresses on the same subject, and by the same hand. The Begum has since solemnly disowned her having ever written such Letters, or authorised such a commission.

A very short time after the elevation of his son to the high office which he now possesses as Dewan to the Nabob, Nundcomar sent draughts of Letters to the Begum, which he recommended to her to write to me, enumerating the many encroachments which had been made by the English government on the rights of the Nizamut, and claiming them for the behalf of the Nabob. Copies of these draughts, communicated to me by the Resident, Mr. Middleton, and by other channels, are actually in my possession.

I trust to his own genius to furnish you with nearer proofs in the representations which he has already made, or which he may at this time convey to your knowledge.

My experience of his character has never altered my behaviour to him, but in such instances only, and such have occurred, as required it for the public tranquillity. I have supported the authority of Rajah Goordas, even in opposition to the Begum, because it was consistent

sistent with the credit and dignity of your Administration, that the system, which it had been thought proper on well-considered grounds to appoint, should be steadily supported.

I HAVE also, in many little instances, by my countenance, assisted the personal influence of Maha Rajah Nonescomar; and I have endeavoured to turn both his good and bad qualities to account for the advantage of the Honourable Company, in such occasions as could admit of the application of either; but I must say, that I have been disappointed in all my past expectations from him, and do not promise myself much benefit from his abilities in time to come, as the scene in which he had the fairest opportunity of displaying them, is now closed.

WHATEVER your resolution may be concerning the future fate of Mahommed Reza Cawn, it is my duty, although I believe it unnecessary, to represent, that whatever reparation you may think due for his past sufferings, the restoration of any part of the power which he before possessed, will inevitably tend to the injury of the Company's affairs, and the diminution of your influence and authority.

THERE can be but one government and one power in this Province. Even the pretensions of

of the Nabob may prove a source of great embarrassment, when he is of age to claim his release from the present state of pupillage, which prevents his asserting them.

I have the honour to be,

With the greatest respect,

Honourable Sirs,

Your most faithful and obedient

Humble Servant,

WARREN HASTINGS

*Extracts of Letters from Bengal, relative to the
Character of Maha Rajah Nundcomar.*

*Extract of a Letter from Henry Van Sittart,
Esq. dated at Fort William, the 16th of
January, 1761.*

I TOOK the opportunity of addressing you the 12th November by a Dutch ship, and duplicate per Onslow. I hope the Court will approve of the transactions there advised of, and of which a more circumstantial detail is given now. There are some I know, who will endeavour to describe every part of it in the worst light possible, and pretend even

even to make it out, that the Company have not profited, nor are likely to profit, by their late acquisitions. Such extensive possessions are not to be reduced in a day under new regulations, but that their income will soon be great, is not to be doubted. The difficulties that have occurred in the beginning in the Burdwan country, have been owing entirely to the diligence which some inhabitants of Calcutta, have used in persuading the Rajah of two maxims, both unjust; first, that his own power was great, and capable of resisting ours; and secondly, that it was our intention to treat him very ill, and turn him out of his Zemindary, in case of his submitting himself to our government.

Of the falsity of the first of these notions, he has been convinced, by the defeat given to his whole force, by a very small detachment of ours: of the falsity of the second he will be convinced also, as soon as he hears of the discovery I have had the good fortune to make of his ill advisers, by intercepting a Letter going to him from Calcutta. This Letter, with the man's confession, is entered on consultation the 13th instant.

NUNDCOMAR, the writer of it, is one of those, who being on bad terms with the country government, has lived a long time under the English protection. As these sort of men are generally of a bad character, I trusted him with no part of my confidence,

confidence, so he had a mind to set up an authority of his own. Roydoolub, who lives here on the same footing, appears by this Letter, to have been concerned in the same correspondence. Those who have been already promised our protection, we are bound in honour to continue to protect, and I will faithfully do it, keeping them however under so good a watch, as to put it out of their power to prejudice the Company. I shall be very cautious how I add to the number of these refugees; for it is at the same time destroying the authority of the country government, and harbouring dangerous subjects.

NUNDCOMAR's chief associate of late, has been Mr. Fullarton, formerly a surgeon in your service. It was this Mr. Fullarton that had the principal hand in advising and penning the minute entered by Mr. Amyatt, in consultation the 8th instant, and subscribed to Messrs. Ellis and Smythe. He has always been at the head of a party, unless he could be at the head of the government, which I think him by no means fit for, and therefore I have never asked his advice. I made a minute in consultation the 12th, in answer to the before mentioned, by which I believe the three gentlemen of the Council are convinced they have been misled. I did not mention Mr. Fullarton's name in that minute, but gave so apt a description of him, that no one in Bengal can mistake him.

Extract

Extract of General Letter, dated at Fort William, the 16th of January, 1761.

Par. 205. **T**HE President having had reason to suspect the conduct of Nundcomar, a person to whom we had given protection, and who was formerly employed in our service, in some affairs with the country government, narrowly watched his behaviour, and at last discovered a Letter from the said Nundcomar, to the Rajah of Burdwan, by which it appears, a secret correspondence has subsisted between him and the Rajah, and likewise between the Rajah and Roydoolub. Immediately on the Letter's being found, it was thought proper to place guards on the persons of Roydoolub, Nundcomar, and their principal adherents, and to seize their papers.

In our consultation of the 13th instant, you will observe, those two persons were called before us, and examined, and their papers delivered over to Mr. Hastings's inspection, who is to lay before us whatever he finds relative to the charge against them. We have great reason to hope we have now discovered one of the hidden sources that gave rise to the Burdwan Rajah's unexpected rebellion, or at least fomented it, and that once stop'd, we doubt not to be able to bring him back to a sense of his duty. In the mean time we will continue our enquiries, and take such measures with the offenders, as we shall find adequate to their intentions against us,

Extract

Extract of General Letter, dated at Fort
William, the 23d of February, 1761.

Par. 31. **W**E informed your Honours, in our last address, of the suspicions we had of Roydoolub, and Nundcomar, being concerned in a secret correspondence with the Burdwan Rajah, and others that were disaffected to the Company, and that their persons and papers had been secured. We examined into all their papers, and nothing positive appearing against Roydoolub, the guard was taken off from his house; but of Nundcomar's intriguing against the Nabob's and Company's government, many proofs appeared, and strong suspicion of more, from the dark and mysterious terms in which some of the letters are wrote. Translations of the most material papers, together with all that passed on his examination, are transmitted to your Honours in a book apart, to which we beg leave to refer you; and as, in the present circumstances, it is not in Nundcomar's power to do any injury to your affairs, nor can he leave the settlement if he was so inclined, it being our protection alone, that secures him from falling under the displeasure of the Nabob, we have therefore contented ourselves, with giving him a caution not to engage for the future, in any affairs which do not belong to him.

Extract

Extract of General Letter, dated at Fort William, the 12th of November, 1761.

Par. 59. **O**UR sentiments with respect to protecting the servants of the country government, agree perfectly with yours. Those who have received such protections, have proved in general false friends to us, of which the transactions of Roydoolub and Nundcomar, mentioned in our advices of last season, may be esteemed a proof: those two do, however, remain under our protection; but we shall take care that the number of them does not increase.

Extract of General Letter, dated at Fort William, the 30th of October, 1762.

Par. 112. **I**N our address of the 8th of April, 1762, by the Godolphin, we informed you of an enquiry we had before us, concerning a packet of letters stopped on the road to Cuttack, and said to be a correspondence between Ramchurn and Camgar Cawn; and in our packet by that ship, we transmitted our proceedings at length, in the said enquiry. We remarked to your Honours, in our said address, that several strong circumstances appeared, to give reason to believe that the whole
packet

packet was a forgery : fresh circumstances appearing since, to confirm the said belief, we entered into a farther examination of this matter, our proceedings wherein, are likewise transmitted in the Godolphin packet. This farther examination has fully convinced us that the Letters were forged ; and there is great reason to think that Nundcomar was the contriver thereof, with a design of ruining Ramchurn. We cannot say there are such direct proofs, as to fix the crime upon him with an absolute certainty, nor indeed is it possible there should be positive proofs, while he and his Moonshay (the only persons supposed to be present when the Letters were forged) have resolution enough to persist in denying it.

113. THE before mentioned Nundcomar, is the same person who was convicted some time ago, of carrying on a correspondence with the Burdwan Rajah, of a nature inconsistent with his duty, and hurtful to your interest. We find also, that the same Nundcomar was instrumental in carrying on a correspondence between the Shahzadah and the French Governor General, before the capture of Pondicherry. This information was given to the President, and by him being laid before the Board, was proved by such positive evidence, as to leave no room to doubt of the fact. The least we could conclude upon such crimes was, that Nundcomar, being a person improper to be trusted with his liberty

erty in your settlement, and capable of doing mischief if he was permitted to go out of this province, either to the northward, or towards the Deccan, should therefore be kept confined to his own house, under so strict a guard, as to prevent his writing or receiving letters.

114. In a separate Letter of the 8th of April, by the same ship, we acquainted your Honours of our having received from Mr. Batson, a parcel of Persian writings, said to be copies of letters between the Nabob, Coja Petruse, and others, of a dangerous nature. You will find by our said Letter, and the proceedings in our enquiry which accompanied it, that we greatly suspected this packet also to be a forgery; which suspicion grew stronger every day, from the evasions and excuses of the person who gave these copies to Mr. Batson, in complying with our demand, that he should produce one or more of the originals. After waiting about four months, having reason to believe that the whole was a forgery, invented with a design of making a difference between us and the Nabob, we ordered Mr. Batson to send Byaram, the Company's Vakeel, who gave him the information, to Calcutta; and at the same time we acquainted the Nabob, and his Deputy at Moorshadabad, with the whole affair, and the names of his two Moonshes, from one of whom, Byaram told Mr. Batson, he had received the copies, and the other he said had

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the originals. Byaram being arrived in Calcutta, and examined before the Board, declared the Persian copies were brought him by the hands of one Budde O'Din, a relation of the Moonshy, and the Moonshys, on their part, being examined by the Nabob's Deputy at Moorshadabad, declared they never gave Byaram the said copies, or any other papers; and farther, that Budde O'Din was a person unknown to them, and a dependent of Byaram himself. If this last assertion is found, on farther enquiry, to be true, we think there is great reason to conclude that Byaram is a principal in the forgery, and that it will remain with him to produce Budde O'Din, whom we have not been able to find after the strictest search; and therefore the enquiry rests unfinished, until we see if the said Budde O'Din will be forth coming.

175. Our proceedings in this enquiry, as well as those relative to the French correspondence, are also sent in the Godolphin packet.

Extract of a Separate Letter from the Governor and Council, dated at Fort William, the 11th of March, 1765.

Par. 8. **H**AVING afterwards considered the arrangements and regulations necessary to be made in the government, it was resolved, on

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account of Najem ul Dowlah's minority, and his entire ignorance in the affairs of government, having been never in the least engaged therein, till he went up to the city about two months before, that the whole charge should not rest upon him, nor upon Nundcomar, in whom he had expressed an inclination of reposing his entire confidence. Since then the whole trust appeared too great to be placed in one man, and that, from former circumstances in Nundcomar's conduct, we had much reason to distrust him, it was thought proper that another person should be appointed, at the Board's recommendation, in the capacity of Naib Subah, who should have immediately, under the Nabob, the chief management of all affairs; and no one at the same time, appearing so fit for this trust as Mahommed Reza Cawn, the Naib of Dacca, he was accordingly nominated for it. Under this Naib Subah it was agreed, that the business of the collection of the revenues, should be divided into two or more branches, as might afterwards appear proper; and the appointment or dismissal of the Mutsuddies of those branches, and the allotment of their several districts, be with our approbation; and that we should also be at liberty to point out and object, when improper persons were employed under them.

Extract

Extract of a Letter from John Spencer, Esq.
dated at Fort William, March 14, 1765.

Par. 8. **I** SHALL now proceed to make some observations on our transactions, in consequence of the demise of Jaffier Ally Cawn, the late Nabob.

9. We have thought it most prudent to support his eldest son in the government, as pointed out by the late Nabob. Certainly he is not equal to such a charge, but as much so, or more, than any of the family. To have sought for any one out of the family, might, as affairs are circumstanced, have been attended with very evil consequences to your affairs, and the country in general, at this juncture, besides the appearance of injustice it would wear; and what we have done, is consonant to your late orders, to support Jaffier and his family. This, therefore, was our plan as to the successor; and our proceedings now sent home, shew the steps we have taken to prevent too much power falling into any one man's hands under him, especially in those of Nundocomar, whose evil disposition to our affairs in general, is too notorious to you and us; but during the time of the late Nabob, it was thought too disgustful a measure to enforce his removal. We shall, however, by the measures pursuing, reduce his power within moderate bounds, if not

prevail on the Nabob totally to remove him, which must depend on the advices of our deputies at Moorshadabad, who are now there carrying our agreement with the Nabob into execution.

Extract of General Letter, dated at Fort William, the 5th of September, 1772.

Par. 13. **T**HE appointments which have been thought indispensable upon the abolition of the office of Naib Subah, are as follows: A guardian to the young Nabob, a dewan of his household, and, for the business of the collections, a devan of the khalsa. The persons named to these trusts, are Munny Begum, (the relict of the late Nabob, Jaffier Ally Cawn,) guardian; Rajah Goordass, the son of Maha Rajah Nundcomar, dewan; and Rajah Rajebullub, the son of the late Maha Rajah Doolubram, dewan of the khalsa.

14. THE nomination of Munny Begum to the superintendence of the household, and guardianship of the person of the Nabob, is a measure from which we expect the happiest consequences. Her known aversion to Mahommed Reza Cawn, and opposition of interests to his, render her the fittest person to eradicate his influence in the household; and her high rank and abilities, equally qualify her to represent the dignity of the family, without
any

any danger to the Company, from such pretensions as might be apprehended from any male relation of Jaffier Ally Cawn, or from the ambition of any other man of consideration, to whom such a trust might be delegated.

Extract of a Letter from the Governor and Council, in their secret Department, dated Fort William, March 31st, 1773.

Parl. 7. **A** COMPLETE set of our proceedings, relative to Rajah Shitabroy, forms a number in this packet. There was not at the beginning, any absolute charge against him, but only a suspicion, arising from the diminution of the revenues of the Bahar Province. This he attributes to the severity of the drought, and the consequent famine; and we found his representation confirmed, by a reference to the correspondence of Messrs. Rumbold and Alexander, as well as by the subsequent investigations of the Chief and Council of Patna, and the Collectors of that province. During the time, however, of his detention in Calcutta, encouragement having been given for accusations against him, Rajah Nundcomar, and Rajah, Deerijnarain, produced a number of articles, amounting to Rs. 115,92,679 9 3; but upon enquiry into them, the greatest part, amounting to

to Rs. 91,41,837 11 6, we found to be entirely without foundation, and accordingly we have so far acquitted him. The remaining Rs. 24,50,841 13 9, requiring a local investigation, we have sent orders for that purpose, to the Chief and Council of Patna; and as in these articles, Rajah Shitabroy is not actually accused of any misconduct or embezzlement, but it is only surmised that he possibly may have been guilty, we have given him permission to reside at Calcutta or Moorshadabad, as is most convenient to him, till the receipt of their answer; but we did not think it proper to extend this licence to Patna, lest his presence there might occasion an undue influence, and obstruct the enquiry we have ordered,

Extract of a Letter from the Governor and Council, in their secret Department, dated at Fort William, August 16, 1773.

Par. 12. **W**E acquainted you, in the 18th paragraph of our Letter of the 1st of March last, from this department, by the Marquis of Rockingham, that we had made considerable progress in the enquiry against Mahommed Reza Cawn, but that we foresaw it would be a very tedious and troublesome business. We have great reason to continue confirmed in this opinion;

for

(183)

for notwithstanding we have dedicated to it, all the time that we could possibly spare from the other indispensable duties of your government, we have only yet been able to go through the first article of impeachment, namely, the charge of his monopolizing grain during the famine. We have examined a number of evidences in support of this charge, but we must acknowledge that they do not establish any clear or conclusive proofs of the Nabob's guilt; on the contrary, the belief which prevailed in the country, of his being concerned in that trade, seems in a great degree to have taken its rise from the notions of the people, who, not having access to better intelligence, blended and mistook the duties of Mahommed Reza Cawn's public station, in the measures which he pursued for the relief of the city during the height of the famine, for the exertion of sordid views, to gratify and promote his private interest.

13. MAHOMMED Reza Cawn has delivered in a defence to this article, avowing his innocence of the charge, pointing out the measures which his public duty obliged him to take for the relief of the country at that melancholy conjuncture, and detecting a variety of falsehoods and contradictions, in the depositions of the evidences. This paper has not yet been recorded on our proceedings, nor have we thought it necessary to sum the proofs in this charge, until we shall have gone through the other articles of accusation.

14. THE

14. The second article of impeachment, is the balance which is stated against him during the two years that he collected the Dacca revenues, under the Nabob Meer Jaffer. This balance is grounded upon a tahud, or contract, and a kistbundee, which appear under Mahommed Reza Cawn's seal. In reply to the demand which it establishes, Mahommed Reza Cawn sets forth, that these deeds were extorted from him by violence, at a time when, through the machinations of Nundcomar, he was under confinement, and considered his life to be in danger, and that they were afterwards invalidated, or superseded, by writings, which he produces, under the sign manual of the Nabob Meer Jaffer. Nundcomar, on the other hand, continues to assert, that the balance established by this kistbundee, is justly due, and recoverable from Mahommed Reza Cawn. Thus circumstanced, without the assistance of farther lights or proofs, the only clue we have left, to lead to the investigation of the truth, and upon which to build a judgment, is to obtain, if possible, an account of the actual collections made in the province of Dacca for these years. We have with this view resolved, that our President shall call upon Nundcomar, for every paper and proof that he can produce in support of this charge, and that these shall be given in trust to Mr. Barwell, the Chief of Dacca, with full powers and instructions to trace and ascertain, either by the lights which they may afford, or by any other means

means in his power, such as the acquiring of the
Mossul papers, or obtaining information from
the antient Mutsoodies of the district, an exact
account of the real collections for the two years in
which Mahommed Reza Cawn was the Naib of
Dacca.

*Extracts of Letters to Bengal, relative to the
Character of Maha Rajah Nundcomar.*

**Extract of a General Letter to Bengal, dated
February the 22d, 1764.**

Par. 37. FROM the whole of your proceedings
with respect to Nundcomar, there
seems to be no doubt of his endeavouring, by for-
gery and false accusations, to ruin Ramchurn;
that he has been guilty of carrying on correspon-
dences with the country powers, hurtful to the
Company's interests, and instrumental in convey-
ing letters between the Shah Zadah and the French
Governor General of Pondicherry. In short, it
appears, he is of that wicked and turbulent dispo-
sition, that no harmony can subsist in a society,
where he has the opportunity of interfering. We,
therefore, most readily concur with you, that
Nundcomar

Nundcomar is a person improper to be trusted with his liberty in our settlements, and capable of doing mischief, if he is permitted to go out of the province, either to the northward, or towards the Deccan. We shall, therefore, depend upon your keeping such a watch over all his actions, as may be the means of preventing his disturbing the quiet of the public, or injuring individuals for the future.

38. In the affair of Coja Petruse, there seems to us much reason to doubt the authenticity of the letters, and especially as the President has declared, that no such man as Cawn Bahadar, so often mentioned in them, was ever seen or heard of by him, nor any such proposal ever made to him, as is therein mentioned. But as you desire to be informed, what measures you may lawfully take in cases of this nature, and particularly what proofs are sufficient to authorize you to seize the papers of persons accused, we think it right to acquaint you in general, that where the accused are the subjects of the Indian Princes, great caution and circumspection must be used; and if actual proof cannot be procured, but you have reason to think the suspicion well founded, you are then to endeavour to get such person recalled, or removed by remonstrances to his employers, and upon due proof of guilt, you may send him yourselves to his employers, with such evidence of his guilt, as you shall be possessed of. The intercepting of letters,
may,

may, upon a well grounded suspicion, be in some measure justified; but the seizing of papers is a matter of a very delicate nature; and without the fullest and most satisfactory evidence of the facts, and a certainty of finding such papers as would authenticate such facts, we cannot encourage you to pursue such a measure.

Extract of a General Letter to Bengal, dated
March the 3d, 1775.

Par. 46. **T**HE conduct of Nundcomar, in the part he has taken against Mahommed Reza Cawn, appears to us so very inconsistent and unworthy, that we feel a repugnance to the continuance of his son in the high office of Roy Royan of the Province. And as the acquittal of Mahommed Reza Cawn, warrants us again to employ him, we direct, that, if he can with propriety accept of that office, under the regulations and restrictions established by our President and Council, and with the salary granted to Rajah Goordas for executing the same, he be forthwith appointed thereto, and receive a proper khellaut, and such other marks of distinction, as are usually conferred on natives on like occasions. We mean not by this appointment, to restore Mahommed Reza Cawn to any improper degree of power, but merely

merely to testify our satisfaction, on finding his former conduct has been so much better than we expected.

47. AND in regard to Rajah Goordas, though we cannot consent to his remaining Roy Royan of the Province, yet, in consideration of the favourable character we have received of him, we have no objection to his being appointed to any office of less importance, if you shall be of opinion, that his behaviour has entitled him to such a mark of our indulgence.

Extract of Proceedings of the Committee of Circuit at Cossimbuzar, the 11th July, 1772, relative to the Appointment of Nundcomar's Son to the Office of Dewan to the Nabob's Household.

THE President proposes Rajah Goordas, the son of Maha Rajah Nundcomar, for the office of Dewan to the Nabob's Household. The inveterate and rooted enmity which has long subsisted between Mahommed Reza Cawn and Nundcomar, and the necessity of employing the vigilance and activity of so penetrating a rival, to counteract the designs of Mahommed Reza Cawn, and to eradicate that influence which he still retains in the government

government of this province, and more especially in the family of the Nabob, are the sole motives for this recommendation. The Honourable Company, in their Letter by the Lapwing, order, that both "Mahommed Reza Cawn, and every person employed by or in conjunction with him, or acting under his influence, shall be divested of any farther charge or influence in the collections;" and they farther direct, that a strict scrutiny be made into his conduct, in the exercise of his office of Naib Subah, from the suspicion of his having been "equally unfaithful in the discharge of that trust."

It is very evident, from these orders, that it was the intention of the Court of Directors, to make an entire reformation in the government of these provinces, and to begin with the abolition of that authority, which had been established in it during the course of the last seven years. Indeed, if this had not been expressed, it must necessarily have been implied in their commands; since it was not to be expected, that a new plan of government would effectually take place, while the influence of the former subsisted. The same man, till lately, had the charge of the Nabob's household, the sole application of his vast stipends, the administration of justice, and the collection of the revenues of the province. In a word, every branch of the administration was centered in the person of Mahommed

Reza

Reza Cawn. It is true, that his authority was much diminished in the collections, by the institution of the Supervisors; but he still retained an influence in most parts of the province, and in some of his secret power, was even superior to that of the Supervisor. In the direction of the Nabob's household, he acted without check or controul. The Nabob's servants were all of his appointment, his creatures and dependents. These still continue in charge of the Nabob's person, and in possession of his mind, which they may be naturally supposed to bend to such inclinations and purposes, as may best suit the views and interests of their patron.

THESE reasons will justify the nomination of a man to supply the place of the late Naib Subah, who is known to be his most violent opponent, and most capable of opposing him. It is not pretended that these ends are to be obtained merely from the abilities of Rajah Goordas; his youth and inexperience render him, although unexceptionable in other respects, inadequate to the real purposes of his appointment; but his father hath all the abilities, perseverance, and temper, requisite for such ends, in a degree, perhaps, exceeding any man in Bengal. These talents have heretofore made him obnoxious to government itself, and therefore it might be thought unsafe to trust him with an authority so near the Nabob, whom he might inspire with his own ambition, and assist with the

means.

means of carrying it to the most dangerous extremes. It is possible that this might be the case, were he immediately and formally entrusted with the charge in question, and therefore it is proposed to confer it upon his son, who is of himself incapable of making a very bad use of it, and to allow of his acting under the influence and instruction of his father, who, holding no office under the Nabob, and being a subject of our government, may be removed without eclat, or the least appearance of violence, whenever he shall be proved, or even suspected, to abuse his trust, and apply it to the designs hurtful to the interests of the Honourable Company.

WARREN HASTINGS.

Mr. Middleton delivers in the following minute.

FOR the reasons which have been so properly and powerfully urged by the President, I entirely approve of the choice he has made in the person of Rajah Goordass, as a man the most eligible to superintend the affairs of the Nabob's household, and at the same time to complete the reformation which the Company have thought necessary to be made in the government of this country. Young and inexperienced himself, without that temper of mind which denotes ambition, no apprehensions need be

be entertained of his making an improper use of the authority with which he is invested; yet, directed by the counsel of his father, whose abilities, and inveteracy to the late Naib Subah, are well known, he not only must be deemed capable of discharging all the functions of his office with applause; but must appear particularly calculated to answer those ends the Honourable Company have in view, by the total suppression of that influence, which has hitherto been placed in the person of Mahommed Reza Cawn; and this without any danger that schemes of ambition will be formed by the father himself, or, if formed, without a possibility of executing them, seeing that the power, from which his consequence is only reflected, will be so circumscribed, and wholly unable to screen him, on the least breach of confidence, from the just resentment of those to whom he is indebted for the degree of consideration he holds:

SAM. MIDDLETON.

Messrs. Dacres, Lawrell, and Graham, object to the proposition of appointing Rajah Goordas Dewan to the Nabob, and will assign their reasons at a future meeting.

Extract

Extract of Proceedings of the Committee of
Circuit, dated at Cossimbuzar, the 26th
of July, 1772.

MESSRS. Dacres, Lawrell, and Graham, lay
before the Committee the following minute,
in support of their dissent from the President's pro-
position, for appointing Rajah Goordas Dewan to
the Nabob.

THE basis on which we object to the appoint-
ment of Rajah Goordas to the office of "Dewan
of the household, and manager of the Nabob's
finances," is because we esteem it in effect, the
appointment of Nundcomar, who, with respect to
the various accusations against his political conduct,
and the orders which have been in consequence re-
ceived from the honourable the Court of Directors,
stands in such a predicament, as to preclude, in
our opinion, an acquiescence in the President's
proposition. We crave the patience of the Com-
mittee to peruse those testimonies, faithfully collec-
ted from the public records of our government,
on which we ground this opinion.

Extract from September Consultations, 1762.

July 31. **T**HE President having had information that Nundcomar was assisting in carrying on a correspondence between the Shah Zadah and the government of Pondicherry, desires that Monick Chowdry may be called before the Board, and interrogated thereon.

SEPTEMBER 30th. The Board being now met, to consider and determine on the subject and proof of this accusation against Nundcomar,

READ the several proceedings thereon since the commencement of the enquiry, whereby it appears to be clearly proved, by the testimony of several witnesses corroborating the declaration of Gorichunt Battergee, that he, the said Gorichunt, was not in Calcutta at the time Nundcomar alledges in his defence, to have given him the letters from Mr. Law.

NUNDCOMAR being therefore called in and acquainted therewith, was asked if he had any thing else to plead in his defence, but is found to be able to urge nothing material.

THE question being put,—Whether, from the facts stated, and the evidence and depositions taken before

before this Board, Nundcomar is guilty of the charge laid against him or not ?

THE Board are unanimously of opinion that he is guilty ; but

AGREED to defer passing a sentence upon him, until they are able to form a judgment on the subject of the other enquiry relative to the intercepted letters.

OCTOBER 4th. The Board having taken into consideration the whole of the proceedings in the enquiry regarding the intercepted letters, are of opinion, as there are no direct proofs of the charge appear in the course of the evidence, that they had better defer coming to any final decision upon the matter ; but as it fully appears, from the subject and substance of this enquiry, that Nundcomar is a man every way capable, and inclined to create disturbances in the country, prejudicial to the Company's interest, the Board are of opinion, that he ought not to be trusted with his liberty.

AGREED, therefore, that he be kept in his own house, under so strict a guard, as to prevent his writing or receiving Letters.

N. B. These proceedings, commencing the 27th of April, 1761, and ending the 11th of

April, 1762, and continued again from the 31st of July, 1762, to the date of the last extract, contain charges against Nundcomar, of forging the intercepted letters, with an intent to ruin Ramchurn, and of being instrumental in conveying letters from the Shah Zadah to the French Governor General at Pondicherry. He (Nundcomar) was also convicted, in the course of these proceedings, of carrying on a treacherous correspondence with the Burdwan Rajah, and other rebellious Zemindars, who were in arms against Meer Cossim, as appears by the words of Mr. Van Sittart's minute, recorded the 31st of July, 1762: "For the enmity which Nundcomar had long borne against Ramchurn, was well known, and had been aggravated just before, by Ramchurn's intercepting, by my orders, that treacherous letter which Nundcomar had written to the Burdwan Rajah, and of which he was fully convicted, before the Board, the 13th of January, 1761."

BUT as those consultations are voluminous, and as they are at the same time open for farther reference and inspection, if necessary, we have contented ourselves with extracting the foregoing opinion of Nundcomar's general character; and indeed, seek for proofs of it where we will, for a succession of years, we find him uniformly delineated to be a man intriguing and untrustworthy.

Extract

Extract from the Company's General Letter
to their President and Council, dated
February the 22d, 1764.

Par. 37. **F**ROM the whole of your proceedings,
with respect to Nundcomar, there
seems to be no doubt of his endeavouring, by for-
gery and false accusation, to ruin Ramchurn; that
he has been guilty of carrying on correspondence
with the country powers hurtful to the Company's
interests, and instrumental in conveying letters be-
tween the Shah Zadah and the French Governor
General of Pondicherry. In short, it appears that
he is of that *wicked and turbulent disposition*, that no
harmony can subsist in society, where he has the op-
portunity of interfering. We, therefore, must
readily concur with you, that Nundcomar is
a person improper to be trusted with his *liberty in*
our settlements, and capable of doing *mischief*, if he
is permitted *to go out of the province*, either to the
northward, or towards the Deccan. We shall,
therefore, depend upon your keeping such a watch
over all his actions, as may be the means of pre-
venting his disturbing the quiet of the public, or
injuring individuals, for the future.

Extract

Extract of Meer Ashruff's Narrative, recorded on Consultation, October the 11th, 1764.

AS the Major (Major Camac) continued pressing me very earnestly, I acquainted him with every thing that had come to my knowledge, to the following purport.

ONE day Hajee Abdulla, who fought for Meer Cossim in Patna Fort, and is now with the army in Rajah Nundcomar's service, informed me, that Rajah Nundcomar had been speaking to him about making an agreement with Meer Cossim, whereby he (Nundcomar) would engage constantly to send him faithful accounts of all the transactions of the English army, on condition that he would appoint him to the Dewannee of the province of Bengal, &c. Moreover, he had set his seal to a blank paper, and given it to a person to carry it to Meer Cossim, and write thereon whatever engagements might be necessary for his satisfaction, and deliver it to him. I told Hajee Abdulla, I was not a Hircarrah, that I should represent this matter to the Nabob; that Moorly Durr has the office of Hircarrah, and that he should inform him of these particulars, that he might represent them to his Excellency. Accordingly Hajee Abdulla acquainted Moorly Durr with the affair, whereupon he sent some of his Hircar-

rahs

rahs to apprehend the people who were carrying the paper under Nundcomar's seal; but as Nundcomar's people went away the day before, the Hircarrahs could not catch them. Moreover, when Dundyaul Misfar received the agreement from you and the Nabob, and was dismissed to Rajah Bulwand Sing, Rajah Nundcomar spoke to him by night in his tent, in the following terms: "It is out of friendship that I give this admonition: tell the Rajah it is unjustifiable and dishonourable, for him to revolt from his master; these gentlemen here are wavering in their councils: be sure you fail not to mention this."

Copy of a Letter from Rajah Nundcomar to Rajah Bulwand Sing, recorded on Consultation, dated October the 11th, 1764.

I HAVE had the pleasure to receive your letter by the hands of Dundyaul Misfar. A treaty is now sent you from hence, under the care of the said Misfar. I, who am sincerely your well wisher, and look upon your prosperity as my own, write you, out of friendship, that your revolting from your master and your duty, is contrary to the rules of honour and justice. Here, that these gentlemen are every minute changing their councils, and pursue nothing with steadiness, you should not place
any

any confidence in their writings or agreements. Dundyaul Missar acquainted me fully with the message you sent by him; and I have sent you by his mouth, the particulars of my answer and advice, agreeably to my friendship for you: moreover, he has seen with his own eyes; he will inform you of every thing. You should act conformable thereto, and believe me to be your well-wisher.

Copy of a Letter to the Honourable President, from Mr. Van Sittart, recorded on Consultation, dated March 16th, 1765.

A GREEABLY to your orders, I now lay before you what information I have received relative to Nundcomar's treasonable correspondence with the enemy. On my arrival at Patna, in my way to camp, Meer Ashruff, being introduced to me by Mr. Billers, complained much of the hardships he had suffered on account of his accusation against Nundcomar, and begged that I would use my endeavours to discover the truth, that he might be freed from the imputation of falsehood, and his business freed from the obstructions, by which it had been long totally put a stop to. I immediately asked him by what means he had got Nundcomar's letter into his hands: He said, that on the news of Bulwand's Sing's having paid a visit to Sujah ul

Dowlah,

Bowlah, and offered his service to him, he wrote to Ramchund Pundit, his Gomastah at Benares, expressing his surprise at this his conduct, and desiring to know the reason of it. His Gomastah, in answer, sent him Nundcomar's letter, which was given him by a Moonshy of Bulwand Sing, and wrote him that was the reason. In proof of this assertion, I made him give me a copy of his letter to Ramchund Pundit, and Ramchund's original answer, which, together with their translations, I have here inclosed, (No. 1 and 2.) I then enquired what could be his reason for never having shewn Nundcomar's Letter to General Camac : He intimated, that looking upon him to be prejudiced in Nundcomar's favour, he did not choose to shew it him alone, but said he told him he had *farther proofs* against Nundcomar, which he would produce in presence of Messrs. Batson and Billers; but the General would not consent to any examination in concert with those gentlemen. Indeed, it is difficult to conceive any other reason for Meer Alhruff's not having produced the letter than that which he assigns, as I am well assured it was in his hands, Doctor Fullarton having told me that he had himself seen it, and actually had it in his possession, at the time when Meer Alhruff was strongly pressed to sign the paper testifying Nundcomar's innocence. When I set out for Benares, I carried Nundcomar's original letter with me, and the first opportunity I had of seeing Bulwand Sing, I produced it to him, and

and made an enquiry of him concerning the authenticity of it. His evidence on that subject, you will see fully from the inclosed paper, (No. 3.) From the manner Meer Ashruff has expressed himself in his narrative, one would imagine Bulwand Sing had only told him that there was a person who betrayed our secrets, without mentioning his name: but upon my making enquiry of Meer Ashruff concerning this matter, he said, that after much solicitation from Shawbazbeg and himself, Bulwand Sing plainly informed them, that Nundcomar was the man. This account is confirmed by Doctor Fullarton in the inclosed letter, (No. 4.) The letter of Bulwand Sing, which Doctor Fullarton speaks of, I have not at present by me; but I remember it contains no more than what Doctor Fullarton mentions, referring him for particulars to Meer Ashruff and Shawbazbeg. No. 5 is a translation of part of a paper which I am informed was in the hands of Mr. Batson's Moonshy at Patna, before the Nabob Meer Jaffier, set out from thence for Calcutta: it was copied by Cummur ul Deen, Sir Robert Fletcher's Moonshy, who says, that he before saw a copy of the same paper in the hands of Byaram Chowdry. Some farther account of this paper, may perhaps be obtained from Mr. Batson's Moonshy, and Byaram Chowdry. Anonymous as it now appears, I should not think it worthy of the least notice, but that it is in some measure confirmed by the following information, which I received

ceived from Mahommed Gous Hafiz Israr Cawn, (Meer Cossim's head Moonshy,) who came down with me from Allahabad, viz. in the month of Sawun, (from the 24th of January to the 24th of February.) Mahommed Waris Sootaberdar, with two Hircarrahs, came from Lucknow to Allahabad, in their way to Bengal. They had with them a letter for Nundcomar, given them by Cullum, a favourite servant of Sujah ul Dowlah, and Naib of Hufsum Ally Cawn, with whom (Hufsum Ally Cawn) a Vakeel of Nundcomar has always resided, from the beginning of the war between Sujah ul Dowlah and the English, to the present time. No. 6 is Nundcomar's original letter to Bulwand Sing. Doctor Fullarton has told me, that he believes he could bring twenty people, who would swear to its being the hand writing of a Moonshy of Nundcomar.

I am, &c.

(Signed) G. VANSITTART.

N. B. The translation of the original Letter, No. 6, is entered under No. 3.

From

From Ramchund Pundit to Meer Ashruff.

I HAVE had the honour to receive your letter, wherein you write, that as Rajah Bulwand Sing entered into an agreement with the Nabob Meer Mahommed Jaffier Cawn and the English gentlemen, to act entirely in conjunction with them, what can be the reason that, in contradiction thereto, he is now coming with Sujah ul Dowlah, and is ready for war; that I should make enquiry into this matter, and inform you thereof. Sir, Rajah Nundcomar has written to Rajah Bulwand Sing, that these gentlemen are not firm to their agreements, and this is the reason of his having joined with Sujah ul Dowlah. This letter the Rajah has delivered to me; inclosed I send it to you; thereby you will be acquainted with the particulars: this is the cause of Bulwand Sing's departure from his agreement. Indeed, when a dewan, who has the management of affairs, writes in this manner, how can any one have confidence in his master's agreements?

THE 24th of February, 1765, Rajah Bulwand Sing being on a visit to Mr. Marriott at Benares, I took out of my pocket, in the presence of Messrs. Marriott, Taylor, and Polier, and several of the Rajah's own people, the original letter which Meer Ashruff accused Nundcomar of having written to
the

the Rajah, and presented to the Rajah, and at the time said to him, " Mr. Marriott and I are desirous
 " of knowing whether, when Sujah ul Dowlah was
 " preparing to invade the Bengal dominions, you
 " received this letter from Nundcomar, or not?"
 After reading the letter he replied, " It would be
 " a dishonour to me to speak a falsehood, and
 " speaking the truth may be attended with ill con-
 " sequences to me ; but," says he, (addressing him-
 self to Mr. Marriott,) " I will inform you by and
 " by." Accordingly, about half an hour after-
 wards, he told Mr. Marriott secretly, he had re-
 ceived it. Mr. Marriott asked him if he had writ-
 ten any answer to it? He said that he had ; that
 he would look for it among his papers, and if he
 could find it, would send it him. Immediately af-
 ter, I seated myself close to the Rajah, and asked
 him again secretly, whether he had received the
 letter, or not? He told me that he had. I asked
 him how Meer Ashruff had got it into his hands?
 He told me that he sent it to him. I then said,
 You must remember, that at that time, there was
 a negotiation on foot between you and the English ;
 Meer Ashruff informed me, that on the news of
 your having paid a visit to Sujah ul Dowlah, and
 offered him your service, he wrote to his Gomastah,
 expressing his surprise at your conduct, and desiring
 to know the reason of it ; and that his Gomastah,
 in answer, inclosed him Nundcomar's letter, and
 told him that letter was the reason : pray is this
 matter

matter of fact, or not? He answered, You are acquainted with all particulars already; what occasion is there for me to mention them to you? I repeated my question; But is what Meer Ashruff told me matter of fact, or not? He said, It is so entirely. I then asked him if he had received any more of such sort of letters from Nundcomar? He told me that he had received two or three; but that Sujah ul Dowlah had received fifty. I asked him if he had seen any of those letters which were written to Sujah ul Dowlah? He said he had not; but that, being with Sujah ul Dowlah, he very well knew that he did receive them. I desired he would let me have those two or three letters that were written to himself: he told me that he would look for them among his papers, and deliver them to Mr. Marriot.

Benares,

Signed

February 26th, 1765.

GEORGE VAN SITTART.

WHAT is mentioned in this narrative, regarding Bulwand Sing and myself, I assert to be fact.

Benares,

February 26th, 1765.

RAND. MARRIOTT.

Copy

Copy of Dr. Fullarton's Letter to Mr. Van
Sittart.

DEAR SIR,

ENCLOSED I send you a letter, received from Bulwand Sing about the end of April, 1764, in which he plainly shews a kind of diffidence of our sincerity in the manner of our treating, and that every thing that passed among us, was known to the enemy; and in this letter he gives this for reason, that there was so many people employed in the management of the treaty with him, that he was at a loss to know what to think of it.

ABOUT the same time, at our camp at Buxar, Meer Ashruff informed me to the same purpose, with respect to Nundcomar, and his letter to Bulwand Sing, as he hath set forth in his letter to your brother.

I am, dear Sir,

With the utmost respect,

Your most obedient servant,

Patna,
February 20th, 1765.

(Signed)

W. FULLARTON.

N. B. Both

N. B. Both Shawbazbeg and Ashruff, agreed in their account that Bulwand Sing had only impeached Nundcomar of treachery.

W. FULLARTON.

NUNDCOMAR wrote by his Vakeel to Sujah ul Dowlah, "That if he would drive the English out of the country, he would make him a nazirana of a crore of rupees, and give up the Patna province to his possession;" but Sujah ul Dowlah did not consent to his desire. He therefore sent his Vakeel Syed Roo Olla, to Hofun Ally Cawn, (Sujah ul Dowlah's Aruzbeggy) with a note for several lacks of rupees, requesting that he would use his endeavours to persuade Sujah ul Dowlah to his scheme. Hofun Ally Cawn, with a view to enrich himself, made the strongest representations on the subject to Sujah ul Dowlah, and at length prevailed upon him: Accordingly, Syed Roo Olla is still at Sujah ul Dowlah's court on this business.

Extract

Extract from Consultation, Secret Department, March 16th, 1765.

Letter from the Deputation, Moorshadabad, dated March 10th.

IN a day or two, we are in hopes of completing such a state of the present collections and divisions of the revenues, as may enable us to propose to you, the distribution you direct: but as it has been proposed to place one branch in the hands of Nundcomar, we think it necessary, before this be fixed, to acquaint you, that Mr. George Van Sittart, just arrived from the army, has communicated to us some very corroborative proofs of the treacherous correspondence imputed to Nundcomar in April 1764, which may, perhaps, induce you to alter the intended partition of business. The facts as attested, must, for the present, destroy all confidence between us and Nundcomar, and if fully proved, must expose him to the severest resentment of our government.

THE President informs the Board, Mr. George Van Sittart arrived yesterday in town, and that he had desired him to produce the proofs which the gentlemen of the deputation mention him to be possessed of in their last letter, concerning the treacherous correspondence imputed to Nundcomar

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in last April, and he accordingly now lays before them the following letter from, and papers therein referred to.

(HERE is inserted Mr. Van Sittart's letter, and papers already given.)

READ the consultation of the 11th of October last.

READ also the following letters from Messrs. Camac, Batson, Billers, and Swinton, containing the information they were then called upon to give on this subject.

THE Board again taking this affair into consideration, from the *circumstances before them it appears, supposing the charge to be fully proved against NUNDCOMAR*, that it is absolutely unsafe; either for us or the Nabob, that he should have any the smallest share in the business of the government; and therefore, as there now appear such corroborative circumstances against him,

It is resolved, that he be immediately called to Calcutta, and the enquiry into it here resumed.

AGREED, therefore, that the deputies do make a proper representation on the subject to the Nabob; and desire, as the enquiry can only properly be made

made here, that he will send him down accordingly; that he shall have a fair and candid examination; and when the same is completed, his Excellency be fully advised and consulted on the measures still further necessary. That the President do also address the Nabob on the occasion, referring him to the gentlemen for particulars, and urging his compliance with the application to be made to him by them. That Doctor Fullarton, as before mentioned, Meer Ashruff, Ramchund Pundit, his Gomastah, be called from Patna, and Hadjee Abdulla (mentioned in Meer Ashruff's narrative to be acquainted with this and other circumstances of Nundcomar's treachery) from Moorshadabad, where we find he now is, to give their personal evidences on the charge. A letter is accordingly wrote to the deputies, with a copy of the proceedings for their guidance, and a letter to Patna for the three evidences. As the branch of the revenue intended to be allotted to Nundcomar, may suffer greatly by his absence, it appearing not safe to trust so great a charge solely to the management of his servants or creatures, while his character lays under so dishonourable an imputation, with such particular proofs of his delinquency,

AGREED, the deputies be desired to urge to the Nabob, the disposal of such allotment to other trusty servants, until we have come to a determination concerning Nundcomar.

N. B. THE Nabob for some time declined complying with the Council's desire, and upon the deputies applying for fresh orders, the Council directed them, (Consultation 25th of March,) should the Nabob persevere in his refusal, to seize Nund-comar, and send him a prisoner to Calcutta.

Extracts from the further Letters of the
Extract of the First Letter from the Deputies at Moorshadabad, dated the 23th of February, 1765.

WE found the Nabob's mind greatly prepossessed with the suspicion of our aiming to raise Mahommed Reza Cawn to the Subahship. We soon convinced him how idle were his fears on this head, and how needless and absurd the steps we were now taking to secure him in the most effectual manner, in the full and quiet enjoyment of the Subahdarry, by the faith of the most solemn treaty, if we actually had any such design. This naturally led us to enquire of the Nabob concerning the perwannah he had wrote to Mahommed Reza Cawn, forwarded in his letter to the President, under date the 29th instant, expressly forbidding him to stir from Dacca, notwithstanding he knew the purport of the letter wrote by the President, with the approbation of the Board, desiring him to set out immediately and meet the deputies here, and after that he had assured Mr. Middleton, that this

this perwannah, which was sent sealed up in that addressed for the Governor, should be expressed in the same terms. This was fully proved to have been dictated by Nundcomar, in examining the Moonshy in presence of the Nabob.

Extracts from the further Letters of the Deputies at Moorshadabad. One of the 3d of March.

WE before mentioned that we thought it not advisable to seat the Nabob on the musnud, till Mahommed Reza Cawn's arrival. The Nabob himself, by no means expressed his desire to have it done till he arrived, and has ever since seemed willing to defer it, and it was done this day at our particular desire. We could by no ways account for the Nabob's backwardness to be seated on the musnud till this morning, when Nundcomar came to us with a perwannah to the Nabob, obtaining from the King, through Shitabroy, under the private seal, in consequence of the application that the Nabob had made on the death of his father, promising his confirmation in the Subaship, and desiring to know whether a tent should, as usual on such occasions, be erected without the city, where the Nabob might publickly, and with due reverence receive, this perwannah of the King.

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WE went soon after to the kallah, and explained the impropriety of such a measure to the Nabob, who was so easily convinced, and readily acquiesced in receiving the government only from the Company, that we suppose it a measure put into his head by some ill advisers. If sunnuds from the King should ever appear necessary, we explained to the Nabob that they were to be obtained through the Board's application alone. He seemed perfectly happy with what had been done for him, and fully content to rest himself upon the Board's advice and protection.

ONE of the 7th of March.

THAT you may not be surpris'd that we have not yet address'd you on the other points of your instructions, it is necessary you should be acquainted, that we find it a much more difficult and more laborious work than we expected, to acquire such a knowledge of the revenues, and their present arrangements, as is needful, before we can prepare for your ultimate decision, such an allotment of the collections, as may answer the intentions of the 4th article of the treaty. We are daily busied in this matter, and have to struggle against every impediment which Nundcomar, and the Mutsuddies under him in his office, can throw in our way, as few accounts seem to have been settled since the war with Meer Cossim. It is necessary you should be acquainted,

acquainted, that neither Nundcomar, the Zemindars, nor the officers of the cutcherry under him, made the usual acknowledgements to the Naib Subah, though confirmed in that employment by the public interchange of treaties, till he was absolutely ordered by the Nabob, four days afterwards, on our representation. Such a public opposition to the Board's measures, appears extremely insolent, and has greatly obstructed our proceedings: and as, in contradiction to the article of the treaty in favour of Mahommed Reza Cawn, he appeared still a principal adviser of the Nabob, and to be transacting business, and carrying on correspondence, which only belonged to the Naib Subah, we thought it necessary, in presence of the Nabob, he and the Moonshy should be given to understand the limits of Nundcomar's authority, and that it was confined wholly to the collections. Such an intimation was the more expedient, from the correspondence which had been commenced with the King, and the other officers of his court, for procuring the sunnuds. The Nabob has now acquainted the King with Mahommed Reza Cawn's appointment, and we have fully made known to both, your sentiments as to the procuring sunnuds from the King. Nundcomar has made a very unbecoming struggle in opposition to your orders, to retain the absolute power he had assumed; and if a watchful eye be not kept on his intrigues, he will certainly embroil the Nabob's affairs, and resume
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the power you have meant to place in the hands of Mahommed Reza Cawn, as all the people about the Nabob's person, are absolutely devoted to Nundcomar, and enemies to this change, and though men of very low condition, we have reason to fear they have a very improper influence over the mind of the young Nabob, though he always expresses himself to us perfectly happy in what has been done for him. Of the affairs of Bahar, we have as yet no information, and have been told by Nundcomar, that there is no account hitherto, come of those collections, by which we might obtain a general idea of the whole. A Mutsuddy, who was of the Patna khalsa in Cossim's time, states the revenue at above a crore of rupees.

Extract from the Letter of the Deputies at Moorshadabad, in answer to the Board's orders for persuading the Nabob to remove Nundcomar, and send him to Calcutta.

IF the Nabob had the dependence he ought to have on the English, he would not, in so warm a manner, be protecting a man, we must esteem an enemy to us, nor put his own honour, and the honour of at least a suspected traitor, to us on a footing. How shameful must it appear, that he shall

shall hesitate to part with such a man, or propose himself to accompany him to Calcutta! Such a step on his part, would be placing Nundcomar in the highest point of view. It is putting his attachment to Nundcomar and us, too much on the level; and his presence in Calcutta, on such an occasion, would so overawe the witnesses, that the truth could scarcely be got from them: nor could such a proceeding but give a very low impression of him through the kingdom, and throw the affairs every where into confusion; and we doubt not will, in every respect, seem as improper to you as it now does to us, to admit of it.

AFTER all, supposing that Nundcomar should ever be cleared of that, the influence, it is manifest, he has over the Nabob, the constant endeavours he has used to secure his own power, and thwart the plan the Board would have pursued, the resentment he entertains himself, and instils into the Nabob, against Mahommed Reza Cawn, not to mention the very great abuses there appear to be in the collections, serve only to confirm our opinion, and that of the Board, how extremely dangerous and improper it is, that such a person should continue longer to be the chief adviser and director of this young and inexperienced Prince.

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ALL these extracts serve to place, in the strongest point of view, the dangerous character and intriguing disposition of Nundcomar, as well as his uniform disaffection to the Company. They exhibit him accused of practices tending materially to prejudice the Company's affairs, and these committed not only when he was out of place and employ, but also when a concurrence of fortuitous circumstances, had elevated him to the highest pinnacle of greatness, that could be enjoyed by a subject in these provinces. In the former situation, we find him endeavouring, by forgery and false accusation, to ruin individuals, guilty of carrying on correspondence hurtful to the Company's interests, and instrumental in conveying letters between the Shah Zadah and the French Governor General of Pondicherry. For all these misdemeanours, our then administration unanimously adjudged Nundcomar deserving of perpetual restraint, and the honourable the Court of Directors confirmed the sentence. In the latter situation, at a time when mutiny and desertion had spread their infection throughout our army, and when a most formidable invasion impended Bengal, and threatened the very existence of the Company, we again observe Nundcomar, not only counteracting the views of the Company's government, to draw off Rajah Bulwand Sing from his alliance, which must have greatly weakened the strength of Sujah ul Dowlah, by advising the Rajah against the measure, and declaring the Eng-

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lish an unsteady people, not to be trusted, but also labouring under a strong suspicion of being engaged in inviting and exciting Sujah ul Dowlah to commence the war, and in carrying on a correspondence with the fugitive Meer Cossim. The Board, in consequence of the criminal light in which they viewed these transactions, directed Nundcomar to be sent a prisoner from Moorshabad to Calcutta, in March 1765, and actually summoned evidences from that place and Patna, in order to his being brought to a trial. This trial not having taken place, we consider as an additional and corroborative presumption of his guilt; for notwithstanding the administration which succeeded the one that removed Nundcomar, was composed of members who were well inclined to him, and disposed to controvert every act and measure of their predecessors, yet even under this prejudice, they did not presume to acquit Nundcomar, but they thought proper to confine him to his house, and entirely exclude him from any share in the administration; a decision which could only arise from an impressed conviction of Nundcomar's guilt, had they brought him to trial. Besides these circumstances, of the highest criminal nature against a state, it is well known that, in the negociations the President and Council had to transact with the Nabob Meer Jaffer in 1764, every artifice was employed, and every difficulty started by Nundcomar, that could tend to retard the progress of those

those negotiations, and to obstruct their being terminated for the Company's advantage. A similar conduct is again adopted by him, at the time of the accession of Najim ul Dowlah, where we find he strives to thwart the views, and oppose the influence of the Company in the Nabob's councils; circumstances strongly complained of by the deputation at the city, in their many letters to the Board above quoted. It may be argued, that in these instances, he manifested his zeal for the interest of his immediate masters, but surely it was no proof of his regard or attachment to the Company; and the latter qualities are directed to be considered as essential requisites in our present choice. A man thus possessed of talents for intrigue, and a proneness to exercise them on all occasions, even to the prejudice of the Company's affairs, we can never esteem a proper person to be chosen dewan of the household, and manager of the finances of a minor Nabob, especially at a time when the situation of our territories, both with respect to the designs of the French, and those of the Mahrattas, render the investing such a man with the faintest power, or the most distant opportunity of doing mischief, equally dangerous and impolitic. It can never, we think, be a maxim, either in prudence or in policy, to repeat a trial of the services of a man, whose bad principles are so very notorious, and who has been already proved to have repeatedly exerted them to the injury of

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our state; and as it is not refused, that the son of Nundcomar is to act under the instruction and influence of the father, we hope that we shall be justified in with-holding from him our suffrages, knowing that he has neither the abilities nor the resolution, to dare to contradict his father's will.

MAHOMMED Reza Cawn's power and influence in the country, have been on the decline, ever since the establishment of our Council of Revenue, and Supervisors in the districts, and with his dismissal from all his offices, we apprehend they have totally expired; but admitting that any relicts of them do still remain, and that the present appointment would be attended with the desirable purpose of effectually eradicating them, we think it would be purchasing this object at too great an expence, were we thereby to expose the affairs of our employers, to the risk of being involved in fresh troubles, by the machinations of Nundcomar; more especially as we can fix that choice upon some other person, who is equally, from every motive and consideration, the enemy of Mahommed Reza Cawn, whose character is fair and unblemished, and whose loyalty and attachment to the Company, have been repeatedly proved, and never suspected.

We beg leave to conclude this minute with declaring, that we differ from the sentiments of the President

President on this point with pain and reluctance; sensible of the good effects which must ever result from unanimity in the conduct of the Company's affairs; but when our sense of the duty and fidelity we owe to our employers, of the express letter of their past orders, which we have quoted, and our ideas of those now before us, which direct that we be guided in our choice, by a regard to the public good, and the safety and interest of the Company, when considerations, we say, of this nature, influence us to that contrary way of thinking, we flatter ourselves we shall be justified in dissenting.

P. M. DACRES.

Cossimbuzar,

JAMES LAWRELL.

July 26th, 1772.

J. GRAHAM.

Extract

Extract of the Proceedings of the Committee of Circuit at Cossimbuzar, dated the 28th of July, 1772.

The President delivers in the following minute :

THE President feels a reluctance to dwell any longer on a subject which has divided the opinions of the Committee, and already engaged too much of their attention ; but he thinks it incumbent upon him to say something in reply to the objections which have been made to his proposition, because he apprehends that a very different conclusion may be fairly drawn from the arguments which have been urged against it. His own inclination will induce him to confine himself within the same bounds of candour and moderation, which the gentlemen who differ from him in opinion, have so properly chosen, and which ought to be invariably adhered to, where the end sought by all is the public good, and the only disagreement is on the mode of attaining it.

THE President has already declared, that he meant, by the appointment of Rajah Goordass, that this government should avail itself of the abilities and influence of Rajah Nundcomar, for the purposes assigned ; but it was his declared intention

tion to exclude him from any formal trust in the Nabob's service, in order to guard against any attempts which might be apprehended from his intrigues; thus leaving the government at liberty to recall him, whenever he shall be suspected of applying the opportunities afforded him to ill purposes, without giving umbrage to the Nabob, or leaving him a pretence to screen him from our authority.

THE President does not take upon him to vindicate the moral character of Nundcomar: his sentiments of this man's former political conduct, are not unknown to the Court of Directors, who, he is persuaded, will be more inclined to attribute his present countenance of him to motives of zeal and fidelity to the service, in repugnance, perhaps, to his own inclination, than to any predilection in his favour. He is very well acquainted with most of the facts alluded to in the minute of the Majority, having been a principal instrument in detecting them; nevertheless, he thinks it but justice to make a distinction between the violation of a trust, and an offence committed against our government, by a man who owed it no allegiance, nor was indebted to it for protection, but, on the contrary, was the actual servant and minister of a master, whose interest naturally suggested that kind of policy, which fought by foreign aids, and the diminution of the power of the Company, to raise his own consequence, and to re-establish his authority. He has
never

never been charged with any instance of infidelity to the Nabob Meer Jaffier, the constant tenor of whose politics, from his first accession to the Nizamut, till his death, corresponded in all points, so exactly with the artifices which were detected in his minister, that they may be as fairly ascribed to the one, as to the other. Their immediate object was beyond question, the aggrandizement of the former, though the latter had ultimately an equal interest in their success. The opinion which the Nabob himself, entertained of the services and of the fidelity of Nundcomar, evidently appeared in the distinguished marks which he continued to shew him of his favour and confidence, to the latest hour of his life.

His conduct in the succeeding administration, appears not only to have been dictated by the same principles, but, if we may be allowed to speak favourably of any measures which opposed the views of our own government, and aimed at the support of an adverse interest, surely it was not only not culpable, but even praise-worthy. He endeavoured, as appears by the extracts before us, to give consequence to his master, and to pave the way to his independence, by obtaining a firmaun from the King, for his appointment to the Subahship; and he opposed the promotion of Mahommed Reza Cawn, because he looked upon it as a supercession of the rights and authority of the Nabob. He is

now an absolute dependent and subject of the Company, on whose favour he must rest all his hopes of future advancement.

But whatever may have been the conduct of Rajah Nundcomar in a different station, and on former occasions, the President cannot form an idea of any danger, to which the Company's interests can be exposed, by his influence with his son in the office which is now proposed for the latter. No situation of our affairs could enable the Nabob, or any person connected with him, to avail himself, by any immediate or sudden act, of the slender means which he has left, to intringe our power, or enlarge his own. He has neither a military force, authority in the country, foreign connexions, nor a treasury. A design of such a nature, if ever practicable, can only take effect by a long train of concerted events, and must be the uninterrupted work of years: but as it has been repeatedly remarked, the father having no trust or authority, nor the son abilities equal to so great an enterprise, the slightest suspicion will be sufficient to remove the former, and frustrate every hope of the kind for ever.

With respect to any other person who may be nominated for this charge, the President declares, that he has fixed his choice upon Rajah Goordas, from the thorough conviction, that no other will
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be found equally qualified to answer the particular purposes of that appointment.

To conclude, at a different season, and under other circumstances, the President would acquiesce in the arguments which have been urged against his recommendation. He should be very sorry to see Nundcoman become the minister of a rival power, because of his abilities; he thinks they may be most usefully employed in the service of our own government.

(Signed) WARREN HASTINGS.

T H E E N D.

WITH respect to any other person who may be nominated for this charge, the President declares that he has fixed his choice upon Rajah Goodal, from the thorough conviction that no other will be

SECOND PART

TO THE HONOURABLE THE LORDS OF THE
COUNCIL OF THE KING

EDMUND BURKE, Esq.



IN ANSWER TO A RESOLUTION
PASSED BY THE HOUSE OF COMMONS
IN THE YEAR 1780
RELATIVE TO THE
PETITION OF THE
MAGISTRATES OF THE CITY OF
LONDON

AND TO A RESOLUTION
PASSED BY THE HOUSE OF COMMONS
IN THE YEAR 1781
RELATIVE TO THE
PETITION OF THE
MAGISTRATES OF THE CITY OF
LONDON

AND TO A RESOLUTION
PASSED BY THE HOUSE OF COMMONS
IN THE YEAR 1782
RELATIVE TO THE
PETITION OF THE
MAGISTRATES OF THE CITY OF
LONDON